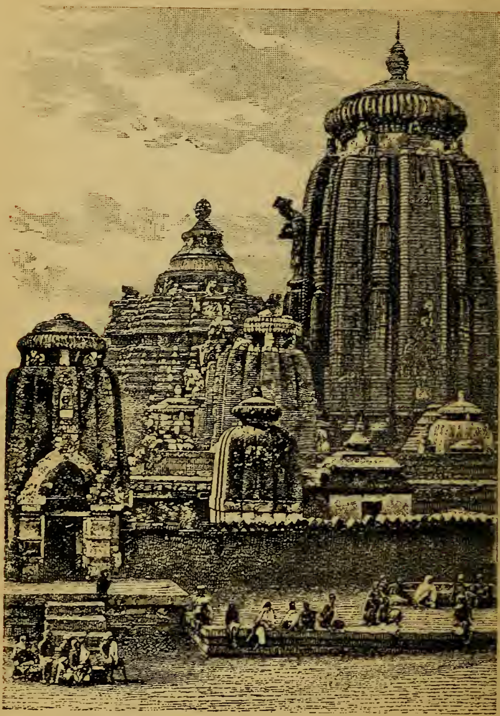
HE TEMPLE PRIMERS

THE CIVILIZATION OF INDIA

By ROMESH C. DUTT, C.I.E.



THE GREAT TEMPLE OF BHUVANESWARA

THE CIVILIZATION OF INDIA



BY ROMESH C. DUTT

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THE

CIVILISATION OF INDIA

CHAPTER I

Vedic Age, CIRCA 2000 TO 1400 B.C.

Early Human Civilisation.—Four gifted races distinguished themselves by their culture and civilisation at a very remote age, over forty centuries ago. The *Hamitic* race founded an ancient empire in Egypt, and spread their conquests under great dynasties of kings, accounts of whose deeds have come down to us in hieroglyphic inscriptions. The *Semetic* race conquered Chaldea, united Sumir and Accad, and have similarly left us records of their early civilisation in cuneiform inscriptions and tablets. The *Turanian* race founded a kingdom in China, and cultivated arts and literature from a remote age. And lastly, the *Aryan* race flourished in India as agriculturists and gifted bards, and as conquerors of the aboriginal races. The first beginnings of human civilisation belong to these gifted races; and it may be noted that a temperate climate, fertile soil, and inundating rivers determined the earliest seats of civilisation.

The banks of the Nile and the Euphrates, and the banks of the Hoang-ho and the Indus, were the isolated spots which first witnessed the culture of civilised arts and industries, of science and learning. Vast spaces between these favoured spots were filled with swarms of hunting and pastoral nations, migrating with their flocks and tents, warring against each other, and leaving no trace in the

early records of human culture and progress. It was in Egypt and in Babylonia, in China and in India, that the lamp was lighted whose lustre has since spread over the earth.

The Aryans in the Punjab.—The Aryans were settled on the Indus and its tributaries two or three thousand years before Christ, or it may be earlier; and Indian products, known by their Sanscrit names, were imported into Babylonia and Egypt in these early times. For many centuries there was a continuous war between these Aryans and the dark-skinned aboriginal tribes of India, until the civilised race conquered the whole of the country now known as the Punjab from the barbarians. With their territorial conquests the Aryans extended agriculture, cultivated arts and industries, perfected their beautiful Sanscrit language—the oldest Aryan language known to us—and composed hymns and songs of great beauty, some of which have been still preserved to us. A section of these Aryan conquerors left the Punjab in quest of western regions, settled down in ancient Iran, and are generally called Iranians; and they composed that body of religious literature which is known as the *Zend-Avesta*. Those who remained in the Punjab are, by distinction, called Indo-Aryans; and their ancient hymns, which are preserved to this day, are known by the collective name of the *Rig Veda*.

The Hymns of the Rig Veda.—The hymns which are collected in this work are 1028 in number, and were composed during several centuries. They are the only materials we have for the history of this early period, which is called the Vedic Age. They throw light on the political condition of the Indo-Aryan tribes and their wars with the aborigines. They describe the arts, industries, agriculture, and manufactures of the Indo-Aryans. They describe their social customs and manners, and give us an insight into their religious faith and observances. And they give us a full and vivid account of the "bright gods," the Powers of Nature, whom the Indo-Aryans worshipped with libations and offerings. In one word, these hymns give us a complete and

faithful picture of the civilisation of India forty centuries ago, the earliest form of civilisation which was reared by the great Aryan race.

Wars with the Aborigines.—As stated before, there was a continuous war between the Indo-Aryans and the dark-skinned aborigines during this age. The aborigines retreated before the more civilised organisation of the Aryans, but hung around in fastnesses and forests, plundered the peaceful villages of the Aryans and stole their cattle. With that tenacity which is peculiar to barbarians, they fought for centuries as they retreated; they interrupted the religious sacrifices of the conquerors, despised their "bright gods," and plundered their wealth. But the Aryans conquered in the end; the area of civilisation widened, waste and jungle lands were reclaimed and dotted with villages and towns, and the barbarians either submitted to the conquerors or retreated to those hills and mountains where their descendants still live. History repeats itself; and the banks of the Indus were cleared of their non-Aryan races eighteen hundred years before Christ, much in the same way in which the banks of the Mississippi have been cleared of their non-Aryan tribes in modern times, eighteen hundred years after Christ.

References to the Wars with the Aborigines.—The hymns of the *Rig Veda* are replete with references to these interminable wars with the aborigines, who are called Dasyus or Dasas. A few verses will illustrate the spirit of hostility and of triumph which inspired the conquerors:—

"The renowned god Indra, the great performer of deeds, has raised up the (Aryan) man. Strong, mighty, and triumphant, he has brought low the head of the malignant Dasa.

"Indra, the slayer of Vritra and the destroyer of towns, has scattered the troops of the Dasa, sons of darkness. He has made the earth and waters for the (Aryan) man, and fulfilled the wishes of the sacrificer."—(*Rig Veda*, ii. 20, 6 and 7.)

"The fleet Black warrior lived on the banks of the Ansumati River with ten thousand troops. Indra became cognisant of this loud-yelling chief; he destroyed the marauding host for the benefit of (Aryan) men.

"Indra said, 'I have seen the Black warrior lurking in the hidden regions of the Ansumati like the sun in a cloud. O Maruts! I desire you to engage in fight and to destroy him.

"The Black warrior then appeared shining on the banks of the Ansumati. Indra took Brihaspati as his ally and destroyed the fleet and godless army."—(*Rig Veda*, vii. 96, 13 to 15.)

Wars among the Aryan Tribes.—But there were wars not only with the aborigines, but also among the different Aryan tribes. The fertile valleys of the Indus and its tributaries were parcelled out among these warlike tribes who founded states and kingdoms, and internecine wars among the Aryan kings and chiefs were not infrequent. Sudas, the son of Divodasa, finds the most prominent mention among all the kings spoken of in the *Rig Veda*. He ruled over the Tritsu tribe living on the banks of the Sarasvati river, and his priests were of the famous Tritsu or Vasishtha clan. Against him came ten tribes from the west, headed by the Bharatas, and their priests were of the equally famous Visvamitra clan. The allied tribes crossed the Sutlej and attacked Sudas; but Sudas was victorious, and the ten tribes were defeated.

Reference to the Aryan Tribal War.—The accounts given in the *Rig Veda* of this battle of nations are of considerable importance, as they throw light on the mutual relations of Aryan tribes, their alliances and disputes, their marches across rivers, and their prayers on the field of battle. A few verses from one of the many hymns in which this inter-tribal battle has been referred to will interest readers:—

"Looking to you, ye strong gods! they marched eastwards, armed with broad axes and thirsting for spoil. Ye helped Sudas, and smote his Dasa and Arya enemies, O Indra and Varuna!

"Where strong men come together with their banners raised, where in the encounter there is nought favourable to us, where all look up to the sky in terror, there ye spoke to us words of comfort, O Indra and Varuna!

"The ends of the earth seemed lost in dust, and the shout went up to heaven, O Indra and Varuna! And the hostile forces compassed us round; then ye heard our voice and came to our help.

"O Indra and Varuna! with your resistless weapons ye conquered

Bheda and protected Sudas. Ye listened to the prayers of the Tritsus amidst the cry of war, and their priestly vocation bore fruit.

"O Indra and Varuna! the weapons of foes and assailants sorely troubled us. Ye are the lords of the riches of both worlds; you bestowed on us your help on that decisive day.

"Both sides invoked you, O Indra and Varuna! in the fight for victory and wealth. You protected Sudas and the Tritsus assailed by the ten kings."—(*Rig Veda*, vii. 83, 1 to 6.)

Agriculture and Pasture. — Agriculture was the principal industry of the Indo-Aryans forty centuries ago, as it is of their descendants in the present day. It is believed that the name *Arya* which the race gave themselves comes from the root *Ar*, which means to till, as if the civilised Aryans wished to distinguish themselves by this name from barbarians who lived by hunting or pasture. The irrigation of fields by means of wells and canals is sometimes referred to, and horses were used for ploughing. Wheat and barley were the principal produce, and rice seems to have been then unknown. Animal food was in common use, specially at sacrifices, and the fermented juice of the Soma plant made a mild and wholesome beverage.

An Agricultural Hymn.—The following is a very interesting hymn to the gods of agriculture. Among them we find mention of Sita—the field furrow which produced the crops. Later on this furrow-goddess became the heroine of one of the two great Epics of ancient India :—

"With the Lord of the field who is friendly to us, we will win the field. May he, the nourisher of our kine and horses, be good to us.

"O Lord of the field! pour on us sweet rain, sweet as butter, and pure and copious, as the cow yields milk.

"May the plants be sweet to us, may the skies and the rains and the firmament favour us. May the Lord of the field be gracious, and may we follow him uninjured.

"May our steers and men work merrily, may the plough furrow merrily. May the traces be fastened merrily, and the goad be plied merrily.

"O Suna and Sira! accept this hymn. Moisten the earth with the rain you have made in the sky.

"Auspicious Sita! proceed onwards, we pray unto thee, that thou mayest bring us prosperity and an abundant crop.

"May Indra accept Sita, and may Pushan guide her course aright. May she be filled with rain, and yield us crops year after year.

"May the ploughshares turn up the sod merrily, and may the tillers move merrily with the steers. May Parjanya favour us with rain, and may Suna and Sira bestow on us wealth."—(*Rig Veda*, iv. 57, 1 to 7.)

Arts and Industries. — Every considerable Aryan village had its artisans in those days as now, and we have frequent mention of the construction of carts and chariots, and of the use of metals. The numerous references to arms and weapons in the hymns show that they were of common use. We are told of armours and helmets, of the javelin, the sword and the battle-axe, of bows, arrows and quivers, of caparisoned war-horses and war-chariots. Similarly there are references to ornaments made of gold and silver, to necklaces and breastplates, to bracelets, anklets, and golden crowns. The *Nishka* was probably a gold piece of a specified weight, used both as money and ornament. Metals were also extensively used for the manufacture of domestic utensils.

Social Life.—There were no caste distinctions as yet among the Aryans of India, and the people were still one united body, and bore the name of *Visas*, or the People. Kings had their court priests for the performance of elaborate sacrifices, but among the humbler classes every householder was the priest of his family, lighted the sacrificial fire, gave offerings and libations, and recited the sacred hymns. Women prepared the Soma-libation, and joined their husbands in the sacrifice; and we have names preserved to us of learned and cultured ladies who composed some of the hymns. The unhealthy custom of child-marriage and the absolute seclusion of women were unknown; and polygamy, permitted among the ancient Hindus as among most ancient nations, was probably confined to the royal and richer classes. On the whole, we obtain from the hymns the picture of a society in which woman was held in honour and respect. She had a considerable authority in the family, took her share in religious

rites and worship, and exerted her legitimate influence in the sphere in which she lived.

A Marriage Ritual.—We get some glimpses into the position of women in families from a long hymn containing what is virtually a marriage ritual. We quote the last five verses :—

(The Bridegroom says.) "May the Lord of creatures bring children unto us; may Aryaman keep us united till old age. Enter auspiciously thy husband's home, O bride! and bring blessing to our men and our cattle.

"Not angry of eye, and not a destroyer of thy husband, be gentle-hearted and full of lustre, and bring weal unto our cattle. Bearing sons, heroic and devoted to the gods, bring blessing to our men and to our cattle.

"O bounteous Indra, make this woman blest in sons and in riches. Grant unto her ten sons, and make her husband the eleventh man.

"Bear sway, O bride! over thy father-in-law and thy mother-in-law; be as a queen over thy husband's sisters and thy husband's brothers.

"May the All-gods and the Waters unite our hearts. May Matarisvan and Dhatri and Deshtri unite us."—(*Rig Veda*, x. 85, 43 to 47.)

A Funeral Ritual.—There are a few hymns in the last book of the *Rig Veda* which contain something like a funeral ritual. The dead body was sanctified by the fire and then buried, and from this to the rite of cremation was an easy step. The departed spirit was believed to travel to the higher world, the kingdom of Yama, there to live with the Fathers or departed ancestors in happiness and joy. A few extracts will be interesting :—

"Burn not this dead, O Fire! nor quite consume him; let not his body or his skin be mangled. O Fire! when thou hast sanctified him, send him unto the Fathers.

"When thou hast sanctified him, O Fire! give him over to the Fathers. When he attains the future life, he will pass under the sway of the gods.

(To the deceased.) "May the light of thine eye go to the sun, thy spirit to the air; go forth to heaven or to earth according to thy deeds. Enter the waters if that be thy destined place, or dwell in plants with all thy limbs." [1]—(*Rig Veda*, x. 16, 1 to 3.)

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[1] This verse seems to embody, dimly and obscurely, the idea of Transmigration of Souls, which is a cardinal principle of belief in India.

(To the women who followed the deceased.) "May these unwidowed women with noble husbands adorn themselves with unguent and balm. Without tears and without sorrow, wearing ornaments, let the matrons first proceed to their house.[1]

(To the widow of the deceased.) "Rise, come to the world of the living, O woman! He is lifeless by whose side thou liest. Become the wife of him who holds thee by the hand and who wishes to be thy husband.

(Removing the bow from the hand of the deceased.) "From the hand of the dead I take away the bow he carried; may it bring us might and glory and strength. Thou art here; may we as heroes overcome those who oppose us.

(To the deceased.) "Go thou, deceased! to this earth which is as a mother and spacious and kind. May her touch be soft like that of wool or a young woman, and may she protect thee from the bosom of destruction.

(To the Earth.) "Rise above him, O Earth! do not press painfully on him; give him good things, give him consolation. As a mother covers her child with her cloth, do thou cover him."—(*Rig Veda*, x. 18, 7 to 11.)

Belief in Future Life and Immortality.—The Indo-Aryans believed in a future world where the righteous were rewarded after death, and the following verses show their noble conception of a happy and immortal life:—

"O Pavamana! take me to that deathless and imperishable world where light dwells eternal, and which is in heaven. Flow, Indu, for Indra!

"Make me immortal in that realm where Yama is king, where there are the gates of heaven, and the waters are young and fresh. Flow, Indu, for Indra!

"Make me immortal in that realm where they can wander as they list—in the third sphere of highest heaven, which is full of light. Flow, Indu, for Indra!

"Make me immortal in that realm where every wish is satisfied—the abode of Pradhma, where there is joy and contentment. Flow, Indu, for Indra!"—(*Rig Veda*, ix. 113, 7 to 10.)

Worship of Nature.—It will appear from what has been stated above that the religion of the Indo-Aryans was

[1] This verse has a history of its own. When the cruel practice of *Sati*, or permitting a widow to burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband, became prevalent in India in comparatively recent times, an endeavour was made to justify the practice by mistranslating this verse. The mistranslation was exposed, and it was proved that the cruel custom finds no sanction in the ancient scriptures of the Hindus.

mainly the worship of Nature in its most imposing and sublime aspects. The different phenomena of Nature received different names, and from the contemplation of these the worshipper rose to the conception of the One God of the universe. It was thus that the worship of the sages of ancient India passed from Nature up to Nature's God.

Dyu or Dyaus is the name of the sky that shines, and is the most ancient name for the divine power among the Aryan nations. It is the same word as the Zeus of the Greeks and the Jupiter of the Latins, the Tiu of the Saxons and the Zio of the Germans, and the name of the Deity among modern nations. The sky was often invoked by the Indo-Aryans along with Prithivi, the earth, as the universal parents.

Varuna, corresponding with the Uranus of the Greeks, is the sky that covers all; and the hymns to him are the holiest of the Vedic hymns. He is often invoked along with Mitra, the sun or the sunny sky. The following are some verses addressed by a sinner to the holy Varuna:—

"Fain would I know my sins, and I question others. I ask the wise, O Varuna! and the sages say unto me, Surely Varuna is angry with thee.

"What, O Varuna! is my sin that thou wouldst slay thy friend who sings thy praises? Declare it unto me, unconquerable Lord! that sinless I may approach thee with my worship.

"Deliver us from the sins of our fathers and from the sins committed by ourselves. Deliver Vasishtha like a calf from its tether, like a thief feeding on stolen cattle.

"Not wilfully have we sinned, O Varuna! but error or wine, dice or anger, has misled us. Even the elder leads the younger astray, even sleep leads us to evil.

"Freed from sin, may I like a slave serve the bounteous god! May the Arya god bestow on us wisdom, may the wise god bestow on us wealth."—(*Rig Veda*, vii. 86, 3 to 7.)

Indra, the sky that rains, is invoked more frequently as the god who strikes the cloud with the thunder, produces the rain for the nourishment of crops, and helps the Aryans in their war with the aboriginal races. There is many a stirring

hymn in the *Rig Veda* about the annual rains of India, of which the following is a good specimen :—

"Indra, with his destructive thunder, smote the cloud (Vritra) into pieces. The dragon (Ahi) now lies prostrate on earth like the trunk of trees felled by the axe.

"Like a mad warrior Vritra challenged the destroying and conquering Indra. But he escaped not destruction ; Indra's foe fell, crushing the banks in his fall.

"Waters are bounding over his prostrate body as rivers flow over fallen banks. Vritra when alive had withheld the waters, Ahi now lies prostrate under the waters."—(*Rig Veda*, i. 32, 5, 6, and 8.)

The Sun is invoked under the names Surya and Savitri, and a beautiful verse addressed to the latter is still used as the sacred morning prayer by the Brahmans of India.

Aditi is the limitless sky, the essence of light ; and her sons, the Adityas, are the suns of the different months of the year. Pushan is the sun as viewed by shepherds and travellers, and Vishnu is the sun traversing the sky by three steps —at rising, at zenith, and at setting.

Agni, the fire, is the priest of the gods, because all offerings to the gods are made to the fire. Soma, the juice used for libations at sacrifices, is invoked as a god, and all the hymns of one of the books of the *Rig Veda* are addressed to him. Brahman, the prayer uttered at sacrifices, is also regarded as a god, and this name was adopted subsequently as the name of the Universal Soul, the One God of the Aryan Hindus. Vayu is the air, and the Maruts are the storms which bring in the annual rains. Rudra is the thunder or thunder-cloud, and is the father of the Maruts.

Yama is the king of the dead, the righteous ruler of the regions where the virtuous go after their death. He is in one remarkable hymn invoked with his twin-sister ; and some scholars hold that the twins were originally conceived to be the primeval parents of mankind, and are now supposed to rule over the realm of the departed. Other twins were the Asvins, the physicians among the gods, and the helpers of the distressed. Scholars have held that the original idea of the Asvin twins was morning and evening, or the morning

star and the evening star, or the twin stars of the third sign of the zodiac.

Only two goddesses have any distinct individuality. SARASVATI was the seventh river of the Punjab (the Indus and its tributaries being the first six), and was considered a sacred river by which hymns were uttered and sacrifices were performed. Sarasvati was therefore worshipped sometimes as a river and sometimes as a goddess of hymns and speech. USHAS, the dawn, is oftener invoked, and is the subject of some of the most beautiful hymns that are to be found in the lyrical poetry of any ancient nation. A free metrical translation of the first half of one hymn is given below as a specimen:—

Beauteous daughter of the sky!
Hold thy ruddy light on high,
Grant us wealth and grant us day,
Bring us food and morning's ray.
White-robed goddess of the morning sky,
Bring us light, let night's deep shadows fly.

Rich in cattle, rich in steed,
With thy gifts to mortals speed,
Joyous nations welcome thee
For thy blessings ever free.
Speak forth words of comfort and of joy,
Grant us wealth and bliss without alloy.

Fathers hailed thy glorious light,
We too hail thee, goddess bright,
For like ships that cross the sea
Sky-borne chariot bringeth thee.
Come then, goddess, in thy radiant car,
Come and bring thy joyous light from far.

Men of lore uplift their song,
Morning hymns to thee belong.
Kanva sings his pious lays
To thy red resplendent rays;
Kanva, wisest of the men of lore,
Reads their names who feed and bless the poor.

Come like housewife gentle-hearted,
Tending us, for night's departed,
Grant another joyous day
Unto beasts and birds so gay;
Let all creatures to their work repair,
Birds with joyous accents fill the air.

Strong man to his work you send,
To the stricken favours lend,
Soft thy fresh and ruddy ray,
Ah! too fleeting is thy stay.
Hasten then, and we to work repair,
Birds with joyous accents fill the air.

She comes! she comes! in radiant car,
Scattering splendour from afar,
From the realms beyond the sun,
In her chariot comes the Dawn.
USHAS comes in radiant loveliness,
USHAS comes to heal us and to bless.

Mortals in devotion bend,
Hymns and joyous songs ascend,
For she comes with ruddy rays,
And she comes to heal and bless.
Brings us blessings in her radiant car,
Brings us strength, and scatters foes afar.
—(*Rig Veda*, i. 48, 1 to 8.)

These are the principal gods of the *Rig Veda*—the powers and striking phenomena of Nature. Their conception is still transparent. Mythology properly so called is still in the process of formation. In this respect the Vedic hymns take us back to an earlier stage in the growth of natural religion than the mythology of nations like the Greeks and the Romans, among whom the gods have already acquired a strong personality, and the history of their original conception and growth has already become obscure.

Conception of One God.—But while the popular mind in ancient India thus imagined a deity in every striking natural phenomenon, and while hymns were sung to the different nature-gods at sacrifices, the wise and the thoughtful believed, even in this early age, that all the operations of nature were the work of One Supreme Power, and all the gods invoked were but the different names of One Supreme God. It is necessary to remember this distinction between the popular faith and the underlying philosophical faith in India, for the distinction which we mark in the Vedic Age has continued to the present day. The common people in India have always

paid worship to many gods, while the wise and the learned have always held these different gods as the various powers or the various names of One Universal Being. It is necessary to remember this duality in Hindu faith and doctrine in order to comprehend the history of the Hindu religion during four thousand years.

We quote below some verses from two hymns in which the unity of the Creator is proclaimed :—

"The all-wise and all-seeing FATHER first created these worlds in their watery form. Their ends were then firmly fastened, and the sky and the earth were separated and extended.

"Great is the ALL-CREATOR; He creates all, He supports all, He presides over all. The blest obtain the fulfilment of their desires where the One Being dwells beyond the constellation of the Seven Rishis.

"The Father who made us, who knows all races and all things, HE is ONE, bearing the name of many gods. Others wish to know of Him."—(*Rig Veda*, x. 82, 1 to 3.)

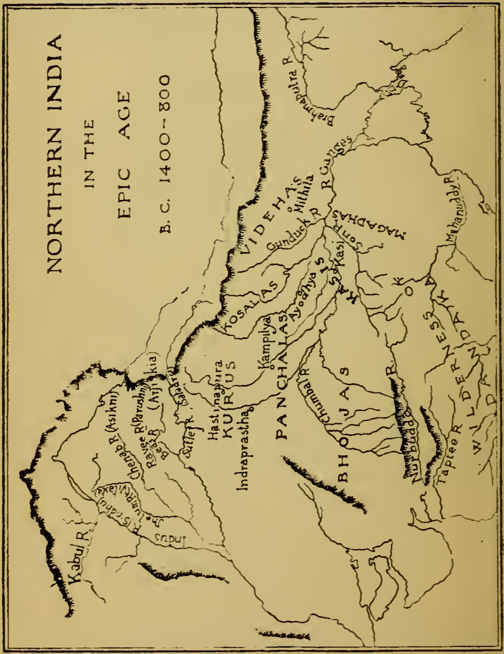
"In the beginning was the GOLDEN CHILD, born the Lord of all. He has fixed and holdeth up this earth and the sky. Whom shall we worship with our oblation?

"Him who has given life and strength, whose will is obeyed by all the gods, whose shadow is death, whose lustre is immortality. Whom shall we worship with our oblation?

"Him who by his greatness is the Lord of all that move and breathe, of men and cattle. Whom shall we worship with our oblation?

"Him through whose might these snowy mountains have been made, and the earth and the sea, and whose arms are these regions of the sky. Whom shall we worship with our oblation?

"Him who fixed the sky and the earth, the region of light and the highest heavens. Him who has measured out the firmament."—(*Rig Veda*, x. 121, 1 to 5.)


NORTHERN INDIA
IN THE
EPIC AGE
B. C. 1400–800
Kabul R.
Indus
Chenab R. (Asikni)
Ravee R. (Parushni)
Beas R. (Arjikia)
Sutlej R. (Satadru)
Hastinapura
KURUS
Indraprastha
Kampilya
PANCHALAS
KOSALAS
Ayodhya
VIDEHAS
Mithila
Gunduck R.
R. Ganges
Brahmaputra R.
MAGADHAS
Soan R.
Kasi
KASIS
Chumbal R.
BHOJAS
Nurbudda R.
Taptee R.
Mahanuddy R.
WILDERNESS OF DAKKHIN

CHAPTER II

Epic Age, CIRCA 1400 TO 800 B.C.

Colonisation of the Gangetic Valley. — In the earliest period of Indian history, which we have called the Vedic Age, we found the Indo-Aryans or Hindus settled on the Indus and its tributaries, and the whole of the Punjab parcelled out into small states or principalities ruled by warlike chiefs. All the races spoke the same language, practised the same religious rites, and worshipped the same "bright gods" of Nature, and were thus held together by strong national ties which served to make them, in spite of their occasional wars, one great confederation of races.

But the Punjab Hindus were not long content with their dominion over the land of the seven rivers. Like all young and warlike races, they threw out colonies farther and farther to the east, until the valley of the Ganges, embracing the whole of Northern India, was colonised. And thus in the second period of Indian history, which we shall call the Epic Age, we find the whole of the fertile country from the Jumna to North Behar occupied by Hindu colonists, excelling their mother-country, the Punjab, in wealth and power, in learning, arts, and civilisation.

The Vedic Age and the Epic Age compared and contrasted.—It is thus that in the Epic Age we have a reproduction of the picture which we have sketched out for the Vedic Age—but a reproduction on a wider stage, and amidst more stately surroundings. In place of petty states carved out by sturdy fighters in the land of the Indus, we find populous and spacious kingdoms ruled by august sovereigns in the valley of the Ganges. In place of simple races of agriculturists, who were priests and warriors and tillers of the soil, we find cultured nations, among whom the vocations of

the priest, the warrior, and the tiller had already assumed the rigid divisions of caste. Instead of simple sacrifices performed at the domestic fireside with the recitation of simple hymns, we find the rules and rites of sacrifices so elaborated as to form a voluminous literature. And instead of brief allusions to tribal feuds or wars with the aborigines, we have accounts of the wars of great nations and great kings, sung by bards and amplified in legends, until they formed the nucleus of the two great Epics of ancient India.

The Foremost Nations of the Epic Age.—Among the powerful and civilised nations that flourished in this Epic Age it is necessary to distinguish four races which were pre-eminent among the ancient Hindu races, as the Spartans and the Athenians were among the ancient Greek races. Two of them, the KURUS and the PANCHALAS, lived along the upper course of the Ganges, and are the main actors of the Hindu epic known as the *Maha-bharata*. Two other nations, the KOSALAS and the VIDEHAS, lived in the territories now known as Oudh and North Behar, and are the principal actors of the epic known as the *Ramayana*.

The Maha-bharata.—No reliable history of the Kurus and the Panchalas has been left to us. We have a long list of the Kuru kings, known as kings of the Lunar Dynasty; but bare lists of kings would be of little historical value, even if they were absolutely authentic and correct. And the account of the war between the Kurus and the Panchalas which is left to us in the *Maha-bharata* is legendary and largely mythical, the real heroes and incidents of the war being lost. But nevertheless, this legendary account of the war throws much light on the customs and manners of the age, and should therefore be known to all students of Indian history.

According to the Epic, Pandu was the old king of the Kurus or the Bharatas, and on the death of Pandu, his brother, Dhrita-rashtra, ascended the throne. There was much jealousy between the five sons of Pandu and the hundred sons of Dhrita-rashtra, and their dissensions form the subject of the Epic.

Yudhishthira, the eldest son of Pandu, was a man of truth and piety, and though like other princes of the age he was trained in arms as

well as in the Vedas, he never became much of a warrior. The second brother, Bhima, was known for his mighty stature and physical prowess, and could uproot a tall tree and use it as his staff. Arjuna, the third brother, distinguished himself above all other princes in archery and the use of all warlike weapons, and is the Achilles of the Indian Epic.

Among the sons of Dhrita-rashtra, the eldest, Duryodhana, was a proud and vindictive man, and as a stout fighter was a rival of Bhima. And he was helped by a warrior Karna, a man of unknown parentage, but who as an archer and swordsman was equal to Arjuna, and is the Hector of the Indian poem. The rivalry between Arjuna and Karna is the leading idea of the Indian Epic, as the rivalry between Achilles and Hector is the leading idea of the Iliad.

Duryodhana, the eldest son of Dhrita-rashtra, devised a plan to kill his hated cousins. They were sent to a distant place, and fire was set to the house in which they were living. But the sons of Pandu escaped, and wandered about in disguise for a time. They heard that the princess of the Panchalas was about to select her husband from among many suitors and princes; and they went to the capital of the Panchala country to witness the festivities, by the advice of the saintly Vyasa, the reputed author of the Epic.

Drupada, king of the Panchalas, had set up a whirling disc high in the air, and had fixed a target beyond the disc; and he proclaimed that whoever would hit the target through the whirling disc would win his daughter. The kings and princes who had gathered to win the Panchala bride tried the feat, but failed one after another. Arjuna then arose, and performed the wondrous feat. The Panchala princess accordingly chose Arjuna as her lord; and it is said she then married all the five brothers. This part of the story is, however, not in harmony with the customs of the Hindus, for among Hindus in ancient as in modern times, polyandry has never been known or permitted. The sons of Pandu, strengthened by the alliance with the king of the Panchalas, demanded a share of their father's kingdom. The Kuru kingdom was accordingly divided; the sons of Dhrita-rashtra retained the country on the Ganges, and the sons of Pandu built a new capital on the Jumna, the site of which is marked by modern Delhi.

Yudhishthira performed a great sacrifice in his new capital, but soon after was overtaken by disaster and ruin. With all his piety he was fond of gambling like all the princes of the age. He was challenged to a game by the wily sons of Dhrita-rashtra, and he staked and lost his new kingdom, his wife and his personal liberty and that of his brothers. The brothers then retired to forests, and passed twelve years in wildernesses, and also passed the thirteenth year in concealment, according to the conditions of their exile.

When the period of banishment was over, the sons of Pandu issued out of their concealment and demanded the restoration of their kingdom. All the elders of the Kuru-land advised this step, but the stern and proud Duryodhana stubbornly refused. He said—

What great crime or darkening sorrow shadows o'er my bitter fate,
That ye chiefs and Kuru's monarch mark Duryodhan for your hate,

Speak, what nameless guilt or folly, secret sin to me unknown,
Turns from me your sweet affection, father's love that was my own?

If Yudhishthir, fond of gambling, played a heedless, reckless game,
Lost his empire and his freedom, was it then Duryodhan's blame,

And if freed from shame and bondage in his folly played again,
Lost again and went to exile, wherefore doth he now complain?

Weak are they in friends and forces, feeble is their fitful star,
Wherefore then in pride and folly seek with us unequal war,

Shall we who to mighty INDRA scarce will do the homage due,
Bow to homeless sons of Pandu and their comrades faint and few,

Bow to them while warlike Drona leads us as in days of old,
Bhishma greater than the bright-gods, archer Karna true and bold?

If in dubious game of battle we should forfeit fame and life,
Heaven will ope its golden portals for the warrior slain in strife,

If unbending to our foemen we should press the gory plain,
Stingless is the bed of arrows, death for us will have no pain!

If in past in thoughtless folly once the realm was broke in twain,
Kuru-land is reunited, never shall be split again,

Take my message to my kinsmen, for Duryodhan's words are plain,
Portion of the Kuru empire sons of Pandu seek in vain,

Town nor village, mart nor hamlet, help us righteous gods in heaven,
Spot that needle's point can cover shall not unto them be given!

The result was a war, or rather a succession of battles, during eighteen days in the historic field of Kuru-Kshetra, where other great battles have since been fought in modern times. The sons of Dhritarashtra were slain, and the sons of Pandu, aided by Krishna, chief of Dwarka, triumphed. They then performed a great horse-sacrifice, and after seating a grandson of Arjuna on the throne, retired into the Himalayas and went to heaven.

The Ramayana.—The other ancient Epic of the Hindus relates to the Kosalas of Oudh and the Videhas of North Behar. No reliable history of the Kosalas has been left to us, and a bare list of the Kosala kings, known as kings of the Solar Dynasty, is of little historical value. We turn, therefore, to the legendary Epic for a picture of the times.

Dasa-ratha, king of the Kosalas, had four sons, the eldest of whom, Rama, is the hero of the Epic. Janaka, king of the Videhas, had a

daughter, Sita, whom he had obtained from a field furrow ; and here the reader will notice how the goddess of the furrow, worshipped in Vedic hymns, has now passed into the character of the heroine of the Epic.

Janaka, king of the Videhas, produced a heavy bow, and proclaimed that whoever could wield the bow would win his daughter. All the suitors who had assembled to win the bride attempted the feat and failed ; but Rama then came and bent the heavy bow till it broke in twain. It was thus that he won his Sita, and returned to his own country.

Dasa-ratha, king of the Kosalas, had become old and feeble, and desired to place Rama on the throne and to pass his old age in peace and retirement. But one of his queens insisted that the son she had borne to him, Bharata, should be placed on the throne. The feeble old king yielded to his strong-minded queen ; Bharata was placed on the throne, and Rama went into exile for fourteen years. He wished his young wife, Sita, to stay at home, but Sita, the model of a devoted wife, would not listen to the proposal. She desired to leave home and kindred, and to follow her lord into the pathless wilderness.

"For the faithful woman follows where her wedded lord may lead,
In the banishment of Rama, Sita's exile is decreed,

Sire nor son nor loving brother rules the wedded woman's state,
With her lord she falls or rises, with her consort courts her fate !

If the righteous son of Raghu wends to forests dark and drear,
Sita steps before her husband wild and thorny paths to clear,

Car and steed and gilded palace, vain are these to woman's life,
Dearer is her husband's shadow to the loved and loving wife !

And my mother often taught me and my father often spake,
That her home the wedded woman doth beside her husband make,

As the shadow to the substance, to her lord is faithful wife,
And she parts not from her consort till she parts with fleeting life !

Therefore bid me seek the jungle and in pathless forests roam,
Where the wild deer freely ranges and the tiger makes his home,

Happier than in father's mansions in the woods will Sita rove,
Waste no thought on home or kindred nestling in her husband's love !

And the wild fruit she will gather from the fresh and fragrant wood,
And the food by Rama tasted shall be Sita's cherished food,

Heaven conceals not brighter mansions in its sunny fields of pride,
Where without her lord and husband faithful Sita would reside !

Therefore let me seek the jungle where the jungle-rangers rove,
Dearer than the royal palace, where I share my husband's love,

And my heart in sweet communion shall my Rama's wishes share,
And my wifely toil shall lighten Rama's load of woe and care !"

Rama ultimately consented, and accompanied by Sita and his brother, Lakshmana, repaired to the wilderness. The Deccan and Southern India had not yet been colonised by Indo-Aryan races, and were uncultivated and wild ; and the aboriginal people who lived in the woods are described by the poet as monkeys and bears. For thirteen years Rama lived among these tribes.

Ravana, king of Ceylon, heard of the beauty of Sita, and in the absence of Rama carried her off from her hut, and took her to Ceylon. Rama, after a long search, obtained clue of her. He made alliances with the wild tribes of the woods, crossed over to Ceylon, and laid siege to the capital town, Lanka, with a huge army.

The account of the long war which followed, though full of stirring incidents, is tedious and childish. Chief after chief was sent out by Ravana to break through the besieging force, but every chief was slain, and Rama's besieging lines remained unbroken. At last Ravana himself, who is described as a monster with ten heads, came out and was slain, and Sita was recovered by Rama. She had remained pure and faithful to Rama under every trial and menace, and she proved her purity by an ordeal of fire.

The fourteenth year of banishment had now expired, and Rama returned to Ayodhya or Oudh, and ascended his father's throne. But the people judged Sita harshly, and considered her tainted. And Rama, weak as his father, yielded to the clamours of his subjects, and sent his pure and faithful wife to exile.

Valmiki, the reputed author of the Epic, was a saint who lived in his hermitage in the woods. He received the exiled Sita, and she gave birth to twin sons, Lava and Kusa, in the hermitage. The princes grew up to be sturdy and manly boys under the care of the saint ; they acquired the learning of the age ; and they sang the heroic deeds of Rama without knowing that Rama was their father.

Rama decided to celebrate the sacrifice of the horse in Ayodhya. A horse was let loose, and the sacrifice was commenced in the forest of Naimisha. Lava and Kusha came there with their preceptor Valmiki, and chanted the *Ramayana* before Rama and his assembled guests. Rama himself at last recognised his heroic boys, the inheritors of his matchless prowess and glory.

But there was no joy in store for Sita. The breath of suspicion had clouded her life, and Sita sank into the earth, the field-furrow, which had given her birth. To the millions of the people of India Sita is not an allegory, but the model of wifely devotion, womanly love, and female self-abnegation. To the millions of Hindu women the story of Sita and of her sufferings and faithfulness is a moral lesson, imparted at the cradle and remembered until death. The world's literature has produced no loftier ideal of woman's love and woman's devotion.

Social Life and Caste.—The origin of the caste-system in India may be traced to this period of Indian history. Life was more settled among the Gangetic Hindus in the Epic Age than it had been in the Vedic Age in the

Punjab, religious rites became more pompous and elaborate, and the hereditary performers of these rites easily separated themselves from the rest of the people. The broad distinction between the Aryans and the Aborigines which prevailed in the Vedic Age suggested similar divisions among the Aryans themselves, and the priestly classes soon formed a community, a caste of their own—the *Brahmans* of India. They still married women of other castes, but it was not considered good form for a Brahman girl to choose a husband from outside her caste. The example set by priests was soon followed by kings and chiefs and warriors; they too separated themselves from the body of the trading and agricultural population, and formed the *Kshatriya* caste of India. The mass of the Aryan people retained their old name of Visas or *Vaisya;* while the aboriginal races who had submitted to the Aryan conquerors formed the *Sudra* caste.

The history of Europe, the history of the whole world, does not present another instance of a caste-system so rigid and so enduring as the caste-system of India. The number of castes has increased to many hundreds in modern times; every aboriginal tribe coming under Hindu influence has formed a caste of its own; and every profession or trade-guild too has crystallised into a caste.

Great care was taken in the ancient days for the education of Aryan boys. They left their parents at an early age, lived with teachers for years and learnt the Vedas and the sciences known to the age; and after studying with such teachers, clever and distinguished boys went up to Parishads, answering to the Universities of Europe. When their education was at last completed, they entered the second stage of life, married, and settled down as householders. It was held meritorious to pass the old age in retirement—first in the performance of penances and austere rites, and then in a calm and holy contemplation—and these are the four ideal stages of correct Hindu life.

Women were held in higher respect in India than in other ancient countries, and the Epics and old literature of India

assign a higher position to them than the epics and literature of ancient Greece. Hindu women enjoyed some rights of property from the Vedic Age, took a share in social and religious rites, and were sometimes distinguished by their learning. The absolute seclusion of women in India was unknown in ancient times.

The four Vedas and the Learning of the Age.—We spoke of the *Rig Veda* in the last chapter; but the people of India recognise four Vedas, and this is how they have grown up. Some of the hymns were by an ancient custom chanted at sacrifices instead of being recited, and a separate collection was made of these chanted hymns and called *Sama Veda*. Special sacrificial formulas and rules also existed from ancient times for the performance of rites, and these formulas and rules were collected under the name of *Yajur Veda*. And a collection of later hymns, often consisting of charms and incantations against evil influences, grew up under the name of *Atharva Veda*.

Every Veda, again, has commentaries and dogmatic explanations, the work of generations of priests; and the vast body of these commentaries is known as *Brahmanas*. While these works were for the use of sacrificers in towns and households, other treatises known as *Aranyakas* were compiled for the use of those who had retired to forests to pass their lives in devotion and contemplation. It is in these last-named works that we generally find those remarkable compositions known as *Upanishads*, containing sublime and philosophical speculations concerning the Universal Soul, the All-pervading Breath.

Closely connected with this vast body of religious literature were other departments of learning, which the pious Hindu considered it his duty to acquire. In one of the old Upanishads we find these departments of learning thus enumerated: The four Vedas, Chronicles and Cosmogonies, Grammar, Ancestral Worship, Arithmetic, Science of Portents, Divisions of Time, Logic, Ethics, Etymology, Pronunciation and Prosody, Demonology, Science of Arms,

Astronomy, and the Science of Serpents and Spirits. This enumeration reminds one of the bent of the human mind and the human intellect during the Middle Ages in Europe. In Grammar the Hindus first traced the descent of words from a limited number of roots; in Arithmetic they discovered the decimal notation system, which was introduced by the Arabs into Europe in the Middle Ages, and is now the common property of all nations; and in Astronomy they divided the path of the moon into those twenty-seven constellations, which were borrowed from them by the Chinese under the name of *Sieu*, and by the Arabs under the title of *Manazil*.

Doctrine of Transmigration of Souls and of the Universal Soul.—Of all the productions of the age, however, the Upanishads are the most striking. They represent the belief of the learned and the wise, as the Brahmanas represent the rites and practices of the people. The Upanishads elucidate the doctrine of the Universal Soul, as the Brahmanas elucidate the popular belief in various Nature-gods. The Upanishads embody the philosophy and spiritual knowledge of the age, as the Brahmanas illustrate the popular observances. In India the Upanishads are classed as works which impart *True knowledge*, while the Brahmanas regulate *Observances*. This distinction has endured in India in all times.

The cardinal doctrines of the Upanishads are the doctrines of Transmigration of Souls and of the Universal Soul. We have seen both these ideas in a hazy form in the hymns of the *Rig Veda*; in the Upanishads we find them more fully developed.

All things change, all things cast off their old forms and assume new shapes. The Soul within living beings thus changes its outward form, enters into new shapes, until it is merged into the Universal Soul called by the Vedic name of BRAHMA. This cardinal principle of the Upanishads is best explained in the language of the Upanishads:—

"As a goldsmith, taking a piece of gold, turns it into another newer and more beautiful shape, so does the Soul, after having thrown off this

body, and dispelled all ignorance, make unto himself another newer and more beautiful shape. . . .

"So much for the man who desires. But as to the man who does not desire, who not desiring, free from desires, satisfied in his desires, desires the Soul only, his spirit does not depart elsewhere; being BRAHMA, he goes to BRAHMA."—(*Brihadaranyaka*, iv. 4.)

"All this is BRAHMA. Let a man meditate on the visible world as beginning, ending, and breathing in BRAHMA. . . .

"The Intelligent whose body is spirit, whose form is light, whose thoughts are truth, whose nature is like ether—omnipresent and invisible—from whom all works, all desires, all sweet odours and tastes proceed; He who embraces all this, who never speaks and is never surprised;

"He is my Soul within the heart, smaller than a corn of rice, smaller than a corn of barley, smaller than a mustard seed, smaller than a canary seed or the kernel of a canary seed. He also is my Soul within the heart, greater than the earth, greater than the sky, greater than heaven, greater than all the worlds;

"He from whom all works, all desires, all sweet odours and tastes proceed, who embraces all this, who never speaks and is never surprised; He, my Soul within the heart, is BRAHMA. When I shall have departed from hence, I shall obtain Him."—(*Chhandogya*, iii. 14.)

This is true philosophical Hinduism as it was three thousand years ago, and as it is now. The doctrine is that all universe and all beings proceed from BRAHMA, live in Him, are a part of Him, and end in Him. Each individual Soul has its beginning in the Universal Soul, and passes through a number of outward shapes or incarnations according to its doings in this world, and in the end merge in Him. The great idea of a true Unity comprehending all changing phenomena, is conceived and explained in the Hindu doctrines of Transmigration of Souls and of a Universal Soul.

CHAPTER III

Age of Laws and Philosophy, 800 TO 315 B.C.

Colonisation of the whole of India.—In the first period of Indian history we found the Indo-Aryans or Hindus settled on the Indus and its tributaries. In the second period they had colonised the whole of the Gangetic valley as far as North Behar, and had founded great and flourishing kingdoms all over Northern India. We now come to the third period, during which the Hindus spread themselves all over India, and all the races and nations of the land, except wild hill tribes, accepted Hindu religion, Hindu learning and laws, Hindu manners and civilisation. The whole of India was Hinduised, if we may use the word, before the fourth century B.C., *i.e.* before Alexander the Great invaded India.

Ten Great Hindu Kingdoms.—We shall be able to form some idea of the spread of Hindu influence and power during this third Age if we pass in rapid review some of the great Hindu kingdoms which flourished in this age. Foremost among them was MAGADHA or South Behar, which was yet uncivilised in the second Age, but which became the first power in India during the third Age. To the east, the whole of Bengal and Orissa were brought under Hindu influence, and formed the sister kingdoms of ANGA (West Bengal), VANGA (East Bengal), and KALINGA (Orissa). AVANTI (Malwa) in Central India, and SAURASHTRA (Gujrat) in the west, were similarly formed into Hindu kingdoms; and the tableland of the Deccan was the seat of a mighty nation, the ANDHRAS, who became soon known for their power and civilisation, their schools of learning and their laws. And farther away, Southern India was parcelled off into three sister kingdoms, viz., those of the CHOLAS on

the Coromandel coast, the Cheras on the Malabar coast, and the Pandyas in the extreme south near Cape Comorin. These ten great kingdoms of the third Age now outshone the older kingdoms of the Gangetic valley, as the Gangetic kingdoms had outshone in the second Age the still older states of the Punjab.

It considerably simplifies our study of the first three Ages of Indian history if we remember how civilisation, learning, and political power gravitated eastwards and southwards by successive stages during these long centuries. During the Vedic Age (2000 to 1400 B.C.) Aryan civilisation spread itself over the Punjab, and the literature and the history of the age are the literature and the history of the Punjab. In the Epic Age (1400 to 800 B.C.) the new colonies in Northern India attained a higher civilisation and political importance, and the literature and history of this age are mainly the literature and history of Northern India. In the third or Philosophical Age (800 to 315 B.C.) the Northern Indian States almost pass out of our view, kingdoms in Eastern and Southern India have risen to a higher political power, and the scenes of the greatest intellectual and religious movements of this age are laid in Eastern and Southern India. The works left to us by each successive age thus indicate the march of civilisation and political power in ancient India from the West to the East and South.

Magadha.—It is not necessary for us to narrate separately the history of all the ten great kingdoms which flourished in this Philosophical Age, nor have the people of those kingdoms preserved any connected and reliable account of their ancient deeds. But among them, Magadha or South Behar soon became the foremost power in India, and some reliable annals of Magadha have been left to us. It is necessary to take note of the salient facts of the history of this kingdom.

We have a list of twenty-eight kings who are supposed to have reigned in Magadha from the time of the war of the *Maha-bharata* to the seventh century B.C.; but of these twenty-eight kings we know nothing but the names. In the seventh century B.C. Sisunaga founded a new dynasty,

which is called after his name; and the fifth king of this dynasty, the pious and gentle Bimbisara, ruled in Magadha when Gautama the Buddha first preached the Buddhist religion in 522 B.C. Bimbisara was succeeded by Ajatasatru, a strong and aggressive ruler, and he extended the limits of the Magadha kingdom by conquering neighbouring states and territories. Four other kings ruled after him, and the Sisunaga dynasty ended about 370 B.C.

Nanda and his eight sons ruled for about fifty or sixty years, and then the great Chandragupta, the contemporary and at one time the friend of Alexander the Great, subjugated the whole of Northern India, and thus raised Magadha to the rank of a great empire. This is perhaps the most important event in the political history of ancient India; the divisions of Northern India into numerous states and kingdoms were swept away, and for the first time the whole of Northern India was brought under one Imperial power. This event, which occurred about 315 B.C., marks the close of the third Age.

Codes of Law.—It will thus be observed that the political results of this third period of Indian history were brilliant and important. It was in this age that the whole of India was Hinduised, and it was at the close of this age that the whole of Northern India was brought under one powerful rule. The literary and scientific achievements of this age, which we have called the Age of Laws and Philosophy, were no less brilliant.

The voluminous commentaries and rules contained in the religious works known as the *Brahmanas*, for the proper performance of sacrifices, were reduced into concise handy manuals, called *Srauta Sutras;* rules of domestic rites and domestic ceremonies were similarly compiled under the name of *Grihya Sutras;* and the whole body of civil and criminal laws was condensed under the name of *Dharma Sutras*.

Sutra means literally a thread, and implies an aphorism in which rules and laws are condensed and strung together, so as to be easily remembered. All sacrificial rules, all rules

of domestic rites, and all civil and criminal laws of the land were thus condensed in the Sutra or aphoristic form in order that each Aryan boy, Brahman or Kshatriya or Vaisya, might learn the whole body of laws in early life, and remember them ever afterwards. Every pious Hindu was expected to know all his duties, as worshipper, as family man, and as citizen; and the method in which he acquired this knowledge was to get the threefold code by heart when he was young, and when he resided with his teacher for the acquisition of sacred learning. No nation on earth ever devised a more effective method for regulating the conduct and character of men, and for impressing on every member of the community his religious, domestic, and legal duties and obligations.

Codes of this threefold law thus sprung up in every state, all over India, and different schools of Sutra literature connected themselves with the different Vedas. A well-known ancient treatise names five Sutra schools of the Rig Veda, twenty-seven Sutra schools of the Black Yajur Veda, fifteen of the White Yajur Veda, twelve of the Sama Veda, and nine of the Atharva Veda. Each Sutra school had a complete code of the threefold law; and the followers of any particular school, in whatever part of India they might live, learnt and imparted to students the laws of that school. A vast mass of Sutra literature thus sprang up all over India; the schools of the Deccan and of Southern India rivalled those of the North; and all races and nations of India were held together by these codes of Aryan law, all prescribing the same rites and duties, all breathing the same spirit, all recognising the Vedas and Vedic sacrifices. It is difficult to believe it, but nevertheless it is a fact, that ancient Hinduism spread all over India more by its moral and intellectual influence than by the force of arms; and that nations were held together as one great confederation less by political and military weapons than by a common religion, by the observance of common rites, and by codes of Aryan law shaping and determining the conduct of all Aryans.

Religious and Domestic Laws.—Of the threefold law mentioned above, the rules of sacrifices do not require any lengthy mention. Sacrifices were of various kinds, but one famous code classifies them into twenty-one different forms. Domestic rites and season festivals are also classified in this code under nineteen heads, and thus all the Hindu Aryan rites are grouped together as the Forty Sacraments.

We get many curious glimpses of ancient Hindu life from the description of these nineteen domestic rites and season festivals. The marriage ceremony is variously described in the different codes, but the main rites are the same. The bride went three times round a lighted fire, made a sacrifice to the fire, and stepped forward seven steps with the bridegroom. And then they watched and waited for the Polar star, the symbol of constancy and faithfulness. The birth of a child, its first feeding with solid food, and its tonsure were all accompanied by appropriate ceremonies.

The most important rite for a boy, however, was his initiation, when he was made over by his father to the guru a teacher for education. He wore a loose garment, a girdle, and a staff; he lived an abstemious life, refraining from every luxury; and he dwelt with his teacher as his son and his menial, begging his food from day to day. Thus passed years of studentship. When at last the Aryan boy had acquired the learning of his fathers, he returned home to his longing friends, married, and settled down as a householder, setting up the domestic sacrificial fire which was an important rite. And among the duties of householders, five daily duties are specially named, viz., sacrifices to the gods and to departed fathers, hospitality to men, honour to spirits, and devotion to God.

Among the festivals celebrated, the foremost was the monthly rite performed in memory of ancestors. Learned Brahmans were fed and rewarded with perfumes, garlands, and clothes, and offerings were made to departed fathers. Rites were performed on the new moon and full moon days, and a special rite was celebrated on the full moon day of the rainy season, the object of which was to propitiate snakes,

always a source of danger in India. The autumnal harvest moon brought in a more imposing festival, followed according to one code by a sacrifice to Sita, the goddess of the furrow. Then followed other harvest festivals, consisting of distribution of cakes made of the new corn; and the festival of the last month of the year closed the year. It is remarkable that many of these domestic rites and season festivals continue to be celebrated in some form or other by the Hindus of the present day; and in spite of political and social changes, the spirit of ancient Hinduism and even of Hindu rites and observances is much the same now as it was twenty-five centuries ago.

Civil and Criminal Laws.—The portions of the codes which lay down the civil and criminal laws are of great value and interest. India has always been a great agricultural country, and the civil laws deal with lands and crops, the conditions of tillage, and the liabilities of herdsmen for damage done by cattle. The laws of property and inheritance and of marriage and succession are laid down in great detail, and the legal rates of interest are minutely prescribed. The interest on money lent on good security was 15 per cent. The criminal laws were based on caste-distinctions, the penalties for Brahmans were light, and those for Sudras were cruelly severe. Death or corporal punishment was the penalty for theft, but the king had the prerogative of mercy, and the right of self-defence was clearly defined.

The laws of evidence were also clearly indicated, and documents and oral testimony were relied on. False evidence was made punishable by severe penalties.

The taxes due to the king are thus detailed in one code:—

"Cultivators pay to the king a tax amounting to one-tenth, one-eighth, or one-sixth of the produce.

"Some declare that the tax on cattle and gold amount to one-fiftieth of the stock.

"In the case of merchandise, one-twentieth is payable by the seller as duty.

"Of roots, fruits, flowers, medicinal herbs, honey, meat, grass, and firewood, one sixteenth."—(*Gautama's Dharma Sutra*, x. 24 to 27.)

The Six Vedangas.—The threefold law described above is considered as only one Vedanga, *i.e.* one of the branches of Vedic learning. The other five Vedangas were: Phonetics, Metre, Grammar, Glossary, and Astronomy. It is easy to see why these subjects were called Vedangas. The study of all these subjects was necessary for the proper utterance of hymns, the proper comprehension of the Vedas, and the proper performance of Vedic rites under different constellations.

Grammar was studied with special assiduity, and Panini who flourished in this age is probably the greatest grammarian that the world has ever produced. His precise time has been the subject of much controversy; but we know that a distinguished critic of Panini's grammar flourished in the fourth century B.C., and Panini himself must have lived some centuries earlier.

The observation of stars for fixing the time of sacrifice led to the study of astronomy, and a treatise was attached to each Veda fixing the sacred calendar. The construction of altars of specified shapes and areas led to the study of geometry in India long before that science was known in Greece. For the construction of proper altars, squares had to be found equal to two or more given squares, or equal to the difference between two given squares; oblongs had to be turned to squares, and squares into oblongs; triangles had to be constructed equal to given squares and oblongs; and circles had to be found approximately equal to given squares. The rules for these and various other problems are found in the codes of threefold law spoken above.

General Observations on Hindu Culture.—The brief sketch which we have given above of the Hindu laws and learning of this age enables us to mark their notable and characteristic features. The originality and inventiveness of the Hindu mind strike us beyond anything else. Their laws, their astronomy, their arithmetic, their geometry, and their grammar were entirely their own; and many of the discoveries made in ancient India, like the decimal notation

in arithmetic, are now the common heritage of the civilised world. Another thing which is equally noticeable is that the culture of all branches of learning connected itself with religion and religious rites in ancient India. Religion inspired observations, stimulated inquiries, led to the discovery of rules, encouraged the compilation of laws, extended the triumphs of science in India. So close is this connection, that ancient sages in India believed they were upholding and spreading their ancient faith and rites when they were adding to the stores of knowledge; and modern scholars are unable to decide where religious speculations end and science and philosophy begin. In the third place, we note what extraordinary care was taken by the sages of ancient India to impress on every Aryan boy the whole of the ancestral learning and laws. A new and aphoristic form of composition was discovered in order to compress all the rules of religious rites and domestic conduct and civil law into a brief compass, and every Aryan boy was made to learn this by rote during his studentship of twelve or twenty-four or even thirty-six years, before he married and settled down as a householder and a member of society. Lastly, we notice that while the utmost importance was attached to the threefold law and to the six branches of Vedic learning, a high moral tone pervaded the culture of the time, and pure moral conduct was held to be above and beyond all the Forty Sacraments and all the Vedas and Vedangas.

Forty Sacraments are useless
  To the man to passions given,
For they lead him not to BRAHMA,
  Lead him not to BRAHMA'S heaven.
Sacraments though rarely taken,
  Bless the man to virtue given,
Lead his soul to holy BRAHMA,
  Lead his soul to BRAHMA'S heaven.
—(*Gautama's Dharma Sutra*, viii. 24 and 25.)

Vain are Vedas without virtue,
  Six Vedangas bring no rest,
Sacred learning quits the sinner
  As the fledged bird quits its nest.

Vedas and the six Vedangas
  Bless not man of sinful life,
As unto the blind and sightless
  Vain is beauty of a wife.
Sacred texts and sacrifices
  Save not men deceitful, proud,
Rites and learning bless the virtuous,
  Like the autumn's rainy cloud.
—(*Vasishtha's Dharma Sutra*, vi. 3 to 5.)

It is perhaps scarcely fair to judge ancient life and civilisation by modern standards; but the comparison is sometimes made, and is not altogether unprofitable. To the modern reader the minute details of the rules of conduct laid down in these ancient Hindu codes are perplexing and almost unintelligible. Every rite, every action of daily life, every custom and observance were prescribed by law and rule. Human beings were almost regarded as creatures of law and rule, and there seemed to be little scope for that freedom of healthy progress and change which is so essential a feature of modern civilisation. The inequality of laws between the Aryan and non-Aryan races, between the Brahman and the Sudra, is also another unhealthy feature of the ancient Hindu laws. Equal laws for all classes are recognised, at least in theory, in modern communities; although in practice, even the most civilised conquerors do not yet administer equal justice between themselves and conquered nations in any part of the world. And lastly, the exclusiveness of modern conquerors had its counterpart in the exclusiveness of the ancient Hindu codes.

All rites and sacraments, all laws and rules, all the Vedas and the Vedangas, were for the Aryans; the mass of the non-Aryans, who formed the majority of Hindus in Eastern and Southern India, were ignored. We get glimpses of the life and religion and learning in the little Aryan colonies all over India, but the great nations who had accepted the civilisation of the Aryan race were still left in the shade, excluded from sacred knowledge and sacred rites. This exclusiveness could not, however, be long maintained after

the mass of non-Aryan nations in Eastern and Southern India had acquired political power and importance; and it was the mission of Buddhism to throw down the barriers, and to unite Aryans and non-Aryans into that one great community now known as Hindus. The times called for a leveller, and a leveller appeared.

Six Systems of Philosophy.—The six Vedangas, spoken of above, do not by any means exhaust the intellectual progress of this age; the most brilliant results of the period are its six systems of philosophy. A great many separate schools of philosophy flourished in ancient India, but orthodox Hindu writers specially note six systems. It would be outside the scope of the present work to explain these six systems, and we can only briefly indicate their nature and purport within our limits.

The *Sankhya* philosophy is the earliest system of mental philosophy known to the world; it flourished in India in the seventh century B.C., or earlier; and some of its principles are believed to have been borrowed by Pythagoras and introduced in Greece. According to this system, Nature and Soul are eternal and self-existent; and from Nature spring the gross and subtle elements, the senses and organs of action, as well as Sensation, Consciousness, and Intellect. The Soul acquires knowledge by being united with Nature, and when it has acquired this knowledge it is emancipated and freed for evermore.

Sankhya philosophy is silent on the existence of a Supreme Being, and the *Yoga* system of philosophy sought to remove this want. It treats of meditation on God, and of various practices and exercises. Followers of this system pretend to acquire occult and supernatural powers by these exercises, and much of the superstition and black magic of modern India connect themselves with this system of philosophy.

Nyaya is Logic, and deals with proof and the thing to be proved. A Hindu syllogism is very like the syllogism of Aristotle, but has two redundant terms. The following is an instance:—

1. The hill is fiery,
2. For it smokes.
3. Whatever smokes is fiery, as a kitchen.
4. The hill is smoking,
5. Therefore it is fiery.

The *Vaiseshika* system is a school of atomic philosophy. All substances consist of atoms. The atoms are eternal and indestructible, substances perish simply by the disintegration of atoms.

The *Mimansa* system is not a system of philosophy properly so called, but is an orthodox reaction against the alarming doctrines of philosophers. It is a system which insists on those Vedic rites and sacrifices which modern philosophy had neglected.

The *Vedanta* system is similarly an orthodox reaction, and brings us back once more to the doctrine of the Upanishads, the doctrine of the Universal Soul. Nature is not distinct from the Soul. Nature is only a multiform manifestation of the Universal Soul, takes its birth from that Soul, and will merge in that Soul.

"The sea is one and not other than its water; yet waves, foam, spray, drops, froth, and other modifications of it differ from each other." —*Brahma Sutra*, ii. 1, 5.

"Like the sun . . . seemingly multiplied by reflection though really single, and like space apparently subdivided in containing vessels but really without distinction, the SUPREME LIGHT is without difference and without distinction."—*Brahma Sutra*, iii. 2.

"Having enjoyed the recompense and suffered the pains of good and bad actions, the possessor of divine knowledge, on the demise of the body, proceeds to a reunion with BRAHMA."—*Brahma Sutra*, iv. 1, 14.

This is the cardinal principle of Hinduism dimly foreshadowed in the Rig Veda, forcibly illustrated in the Upanishads, maintained by reason and argument in Vedanta philosophy, and believed by millions of orthodox and pious Hindus to the present day.

CHAPTER IV

Rise of Buddhism, 522 B.C.

Causes of the Rise of Buddhism.—All the non-Aryan races and nations of India assumed the mantle of the Aryan religion and civilisation in this age, and formed a confederation of Hindu states and kingdoms from Magadha to the extreme south of India. But nevertheless the Aryans with the pride of a superior race had created an impassable gulf between themselves and the millions of the Hinduised non-Aryans, who surrounded them on every side, who founded kingdoms and states, and who claimed the privileges of Aryans after they had assumed the Aryan religion and civilisation. The small Aryan communities guarded their ancient privileges by codes of Aryan law, which became more and more obnoxious to the people at large, who were now Aryans in every way except in descent. The anomaly required a solution, the gulf required to be bridged over. The times called for a religious revolution which would efface distinctions and weld together all Hindus into one community instead of two. Buddhism supplied this solution. And though this new movement did not effectually sweep away caste, it brought together Hindus of all castes within the charmed circle of Hindu laws and Hindu rites, within the pale of Hinduism as it is now understood. This is the great social and political result which Buddhism has effected in India, and the result remains, though Buddhism as a religion has disappeared from India.

The philosophical speculations which were current in this age helped and hastened the religious revolution. In an age when philosophers were permitted to promulgate heterodox opinions and doctrines of every shade, it became easier for a Reformer to broaden and purify an ancient religion. In an

age when the minds of thoughtful men were accustomed to weigh and compare conflicting opinions of conflicting schools, the teachings of a new Reformer received attention and earnest consideration.

Lastly, the Reformer's saintly character, his broad sympathy and world-embracing love, his beautiful maxims of charity, forgiveness and love, and his earnest advocacy of moral culture and moral elevation as a substitute for the elaborate ceremonials and pompous rites of old, supplied the third and not the least efficacious reason for the success of the reformation. Thousands of thoughtful men turned from dead, unmeaning ceremonials to the man who preached moral culture in maxims and parables of unprecedented beauty ; and millions of the poor and the lowly, the non-Aryan and the ignorant, flocked round the new Reformer, whose doctrines were large and catholic, and afforded relief and shelter to all.

Life of Gautama the Buddha.—That Reformer was Gautama the Buddha. He was born at Kapilavastu, on the frontiers of Nepal, about 557 B.C., and was the only son of the chief or king of the Sakya clan. At the age of eighteen he was married to Yasodhara, daughter of the chief of the Koli clan ; and ten years after his marriage his wife bore him a son, who was named Rahula. But Gautama's mind was stirred by the yearnings of a reformer, and his domestic bliss and his father's kingdom gave him no satisfaction. And soon after the birth of his child he left his wife and infant one night in secret, and left his father's realms as a wanderer over the earth in quest of truth for the salvation of mankind.

Gautama went to Rajagriha the capital of the Magadha kingdom, attached himself to some learned Brahmans, and learned all that Hindu philosophers had to teach. The learning did not satisfy his inward longings ; and he turned an anchorite, and for six years performed the most severe penances. The penances were equally fruitless and brought him no consolation ; and when he gave them up, his disciples abandoned him, and he was left alone and friendless.

Alone in the world, Gautama wandered on the banks of the Niranjara River, received his morning meal from the hands of a villager's daughter, and sat down under the Bodhi-tree in contemplation. Many are the legends, told in Buddhist works, of Gautama's contemplation on this eventful day, of his temptation by the Evil Spirit, and of the perturbations of Nature which indicated a great event for the good of mankind. It was in course of this solitary and peaceful contemplation that Gautama found the truth which neither learning nor penances had taught him. And the truth which he discovered and preached to humanity was that the salvation of man lay—not in sacrifices and ceremonials, nor in penances—but in moral culture and a holy life, in charity, forgiveness, and love.

This was in 522 B.C., and for forty-five years, *i.e.* until his death in 477 B.C., the Buddha or the Awakened, proclaimed the truth and preached the reform wherever he went. And he sent disciples too in every direction, and told them, "Go ye now, O Bhikkhus, and wander, for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, for the welfare of gods and men. Let not two of you go the same way."

Gautama first preached his reform in Benares, the holy city of the Hindus from ancient times, and had a number of followers. Thence he repaired to Rajagriha, the capital of Magadha, where he was welcomed by the king Bimbisara; and it is said the queen of the Magadhas eventually embraced his tenets. He paid a visit to his native town, and when he established a religious Order, his wife Yasodhara became a nun, and his son Rahula a monk. He travelled to Kosambi and various other places in Northern India; and it is an evidence of the religious toleration which prevailed in ancient India that Gautama was honoured and listened to wherever he went and preached.

Bimbisara was succeeded on the throne of Magadha by the powerful Ajatasatru. The new king built the town of

Pataliputra or Patna to keep off the Vajjian clans, a race of Turanian invaders who had penetrated into Northern India, and occupied the country to the north of the Ganges. "I will root out these Vajjians," said Ajatasatru, "mighty and powerful though they be," and he consulted the honoured Gautama as to the issue of the conflict. Gautama was no respecter of kings, and replied that so long as the Vajjians remained united and true to their ancient customs, "we expect them not to decline, but to prosper."

Gautama then went southwards to Nalanda, the site of a famous Buddhist monastery and university in subsequent times. He then recrossed the Ganges, and repaired to Vaisali the capital of the powerful Lichchavis of the north. Here he received the hospitality of Ambapali, a woman that was a sinner, and she presented a mansion and property to the Buddhist Order. After some farther wanderings he repaired to Kusinagara, where he died in 477 B.C.

A beautiful legend is told of the death of this holy man, which is in keeping with his holy life. It is said that at the approach of his death trees put forth blossoms out of season, and Nature paid honours to the departing Master. But true to his teachings, Gautama disclaimed such divine honours, and declared that only by the holy life of his brothers and sisters on earth was he honoured.

Thus in many lands they wandered,
    Buddha and his faithful friend,
Teaching truth to many nations
    Till his life approached its end.
And they say, along the pathway
    As the saintly Master went,
Fruit-trees blossomed out of season,
    And a lovely fragrance lent.
And that flowers and sandal powder
    Gently fell on him from high,
And that strains of heavenly music
    Gently sounded from the sky!

But the saintly Master whispered
    To his friend beloved and blest,
"'Tis not thus, O friend Ananda,
    That the Buddha's honoured best.

Not by flowers or sandal powder,
  Not by music's heavenly strain,
Is the soul's true worship rendered,
  Useless are these things and vain.
But the brother and the sister,
  Man devout and woman holy,
Pure in life, in duty faithful,
  They perform the worship truly!"

—*Mahaparinibbana Sutta.*

Buddhist Scriptures.—A voluminous mass of Buddhist sacred literature has been collected from all the Buddhist countries in the world, and this literature divides itself into two distinct schools. Southern Buddhism is the Buddhism of Ceylon and Burma and Siam, while Northern Buddhism is the Buddhism of Thibet and China and Japan. It would be useful to remember that Buddhism was introduced in Ceylon about 240 B.C., in Burma about A.D. 450, and in Siam in A.D. 638. In the north, China accepted Buddhism in the fourth century, Japan in the sixth century, and Thibet in the seventh century after Christ.

Of all the countries which are Buddhist at the present day, Ceylon was therefore the first to accept that religion. A little over two hundred years after the death of the Buddha, his teachings were conveyed to Ceylon by word of mouth. And in 88 B.C. these teachings, known in their collected form as the Three Baskets, were reduced into writing in the shape in which we have them now. It is believed, therefore, that these Three Baskets faithfully represent the teachings of the Buddha in the main outline, though considerable additions must have been made in details within the four centuries from the death of the Buddha to the date when the Buddhist Scriptures were reduced into writing in Ceylon. Of the Three Baskets, or collections of works, the first professes to narrate the actual doings and sayings of the Buddha, the second is a compilation of monastic rules, and the third comprises Buddhist philosophy and speculation. It is likely that the additions made during the four centuries after the death of the Buddha were mostly in the second and third Baskets. The rules of monastic life, settled by Gautama himself in his life-

time, no doubt grew in dimensions from age to age after his death. And philosophical speculations about the soul and future life, which Gautama considered as more or less profitless, were vastly elaborated by the Buddhist schoolmen who succeeded him, and to whom such speculations were congenial. Making every allowance for this, we may accept the Ceylonese Three Baskets—the first written record of Buddhist faith and doctrines—as a generally faithful account of the teachings of Buddha.

Buddhist Doctrines.—Doctrines and beliefs were of secondary importance in the Buddha's system. It is likely that, in insisting on moral culture and a holy life as the aim and object of his reform, he left the ancient doctrines and beliefs of Hinduism untouched. Brahma and Indra and the other gods of ancient Hinduism find frequent mention in the Buddhist Scriptures as beneficent beings who are themselves striving for moral culture and perfect holiness. The elaborate and wearisome discussions in the Buddhist Scriptures about the non-existence of the soul seem to be the result of centuries of later speculation. Gautama appears to have tacitly accepted the faiths and beliefs of his fathers, and exerted himself as a reformer only to build up an elaborate system of moral rules for all men, in place of those unmeaning ceremonials into which the religion of his fathers had degenerated.

Four Truths and the Eightfold Path.—We shall thus find that the main doctrines of Buddhism are old Hindu doctrines adapted to a new system—old wine put in new bottles—as they have been described. The Buddhist doctrine of the *Four truths* is that Life is suffering, that Desire leads to re-births, that Cessation of desire leads to deliverance from re-births and suffering. And the doctrine of the *Eightfold path* lays down that this formal deliverance may be obtained by right belief and aspirations, right speech and conduct, by sinless livelihood and exertion, by watchfulness and meditation. It is the old Hindu idea of final salvation, achieved by perfect knowledge and righteousness, which we have found in the Upanishads.

The Doctrine of Karma.—It is by such self-culture that perfect holiness may be attained, if not in this life, then after a succession of re-births. Gods and men and all living creatures are striving for that holiness which is higher than all, and are passing through a succession of re-births to attain it. The doctrine of *Karma* is that every Karma, or "doing" in this life, leads to its legitimate result in an after life; and the relation of one life to the next is that of the flame of a lamp to the flame of another lighted by it. And if the innocent man suffers in this world, he argues, "it is the result of my doing in a past life, why should I complain?" This also is the old doctrine of the Upanishads which the Buddha now placed before the million, Aryan and non-Aryan. The fine distinction drawn between the old Hindu doctrine of Transmigration of Souls and the Buddhist doctrine of Karma (admitting re-births but denying souls) is one of those abstruse speculations which we would rather attribute to generations of later Buddhist schoolmen than to the Buddha himself.

The Doctrine of Nirvana.—And when the fetters which link us to life and to re-birth are at last broken by prolonged self-culture, one attains that perfect holiness which Buddhists call *Nirvana*. That state is best described in the language of Buddhist Scriptures:—

"There is no suffering for him who has finished his journey and abandoned grief, who has freed himself on all sides and thrown off all fetters.

"They depart with their thoughts well collected, they are not happy within abode; like swans who have left their lake, they leave their house and home."—(*Dhammapada*, 90 and 91.)

The freshness and beauty with which such passages are instinct reproduce the beauty and freshness of the Upanishads in their description of the Final Emancipation. But the Buddha, in preaching this to the million, boldly asserted that this final goal of all living beings could be reached only by moral culture and a holy life and by no other means; and that this final bliss could be obtained by men here below, as well as by gods and angels in celestial regions. Nirvana,

or perfect bliss attainable by righteousness, is placed by Gautama above all men and all gods; it is the final end which gods and men are striving through repeated re-births to attain.

For the rest, Gautama swept aside almost contemptuously the elaborate Vedic rites and sacrifices which had grown into cumbrous forms attended with the slaughter of animals. He swept aside with equal contempt those austere and cruel penances which were considered meritorious, which were undertaken through vanity or delusion, and which were fruitless or mischievous. The caste-system had taken firm root in the Indian society, and Gautama tolerated it in the laity; but in the Holy Order of monks and nuns, which he founded, no distinction of castes was recognised; all were equal when they had embraced a holy life.

The Doctrine of Final Emancipation.—There has been a great deal of speculation and controversy on the doctrine of the Final Deliverance. Much of this speculation is the creation of the later Buddhist schoolmen, for the Buddha himself seems never to have wasted much time in discussing the unknown. A curious conversation, which is said to have taken place on a certain occasion between the king of the Kosalas and the queen of the Magadhas, explains to us how the Buddha was content to leave alone unknowable truths in his pursuit of the great moral reform he had undertaken:—

"Venerable lady," asked the king, "does the perfect one exist afte death?"

"The exalted Buddha, O great king," replied the queen, "has not declared, that the perfect one exists after death."

"Then does the perfect one not exist after death, venerable lady?" inquired the king.

"This, also, O great king," replied the queen, "the exalted Buddha has not declared, that the perfect one does not exist after death."

Moral Precepts.—The special boast and glory of Buddhism therefore is not in its doctrines and articles of faith, but in its moral precepts which place this religion on a higher level than all other religions of the ancient world. The annals of the ancient nations of the earth do not disclose

anything so lofty in its teachings, so pure in its spirit, so rich in its lessons of charity, forgiveness, and love, as the religion of Gautama.

The Five Commandments and the Ten Commandments.—The Ten Commandments of Buddhism are binding on the members of the Holy Order, while only five of them are binding on all Buddhists, laymen as well as monks. They are these:—

> "Let not one kill any living being.
> Let not one take what is not given to him.
> Let not one speak falsely.
> Let not one drink intoxicating drinks.
> Let not one be unchaste."
>
> —*Dhammika Sutta*, 25.

Duties of Life.—A fuller and clearer exposition of human duties is given in an excellent treatise which is common both to the Northern and to the Southern Buddhists. The relations between parents and children, pupils and teachers, between husband and wife, friends and friends, between master and servant, and monks and laymen, are set forth in a series of sixty maxims, which give us glimpses into a pure ideal Hindu life, with its pleasant domestic relations and its religious faith and fervour. The purport of these maxims is condensed below.

Parents train up children in virtue and in arts, and children honour their parents and support them in old age. Pupils obey and minister to the wants of their teachers, and teachers instruct their pupils in goodness and in knowledge. The husband is kind and faithful to his wife, and honours her and causes her to be honoured by others, and the wife is a frugal and diligent housekeeper, a kind hostess, and a chaste and devoted spouse. Friends share their blessings in prosperity, and are faithful in danger and adversity. The master is kind, and the servant is diligent and content. The layman is affectionate and respectful to the religious man in word and in deed, and the religious man dissuades the layman from vice, exorts him to virtue, and helps him by "pointing the way to heaven."—(*Sigalovada Sutta.*)

Parable of Returning Love for Hatred.—Higher than these excellent rules of life are those sublime teachings of Gautama contained in endless birth-stories, tales, and

parables, by which he impressed on his followers the supreme duty of returning good for evil, and forgiveness for injuries. These parables are so instinct with a spirit of true piety and love that they raise the great teacher of Buddhism and his religion to a level higher than that of any other creed of the ancient world. The story of one of these parables is condensed below.

A king of the Kosalas and his queen were robbed of their kingdom and cruelly slain by Brahmadatta, king of the Kasis. At the time of his death the condemned king looked at his son, and gave his last injunction: "Not by hatred, my dear Dighavu, is hatred appeased. By love, my dear Dighavu, is hatred appeased."

And the orphan prince wept and wandered in the forest, and then took employment as a menial in the royal stables of Brahmadatta. And one day he sang a song and played on the lute. And the king heard him and was so pleased with him that he engaged the boy as his attendant, not knowing who he was.

And it so happened that on one occasion the king went out to hunt, taking Dighavu with him. And the king lost his way and felt tired, and lay down. He laid his head on the lap of Dighavu and fell asleep.

And Dighavu thought within himself: "This king Brahmadatta of Kasi has done much harm to us. By him we have been robbed of our troops and vehicles, our realm, our treasuries and storehouses. And he has killed my father and mother. Now the time has come to me to satisfy my hatred."

And Dighavu unsheathed his sword; but the dying injunction of his father came to his mind: "Not by hatred, my dear Dighavu, is hatred appeased. By love, my dear Dighavu, is hatred appeased." And the prince put up his sword.

And the king dreamt a frightful dream; and when he awoke Dighavu told him the whole truth, forgave him the murder of his parents, and gave him his life. And the king then rendered back to Dighavu his father's kingdom, and gave him his daughter to wed.

"Now, O monks," concluded the Buddha, "if such is the forbearance and mildness of kings who wield the sceptre and bear the sword, so much more, O monks, must you so let your light shine before the world, that you, having embraced the religious life according to so well taught a doctrine and a discipline, are seen to be forbearing and mild."—(*Maha vagga*, x. 2.)

The Dhammapada.—The same lesson of returning love for hatred, of forgiveness for injuries and of doing good unto all creatures, is repeatedly impressed in the *Dhammapada*, a string of 423 Moral Maxims unsurpassed in the world for

their beauty and worth. Our space permits us to quote only a few as examples :—

"5. Hatred does not cease by hatred at any time ; hatred ceases by love ; this is its nature."

"51. Like a beautiful flower, full of colour, but without scent, are the fine and fruitless words of him who does not act accordingly."

"129. All men tremble at punishment, all men fear death. Remember that you are like unto them, and do not kill, nor cause slaughter."

"130. All men tremble at punishment, all men love life. Remember that you are like unto them, and do not kill, nor cause slaughter."

"183. Not to commit sin, to do good, to purify one's mind, this is the teaching of the prophets."

"197. Let us live happily, not hating those who hate us. Among men who hate us let us live free from hatred."

"223. Let one overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good. Let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth."

"232. The fault of others is easily perceived, but that of oneself is difficult to perceive; a man winnows his neighbour's faults like chaff, but his own fault he hides, as a cheat hides the bad die from the gambler."

"260. A man is not an Elder because his head is grey. His age may be ripe, but he is called old in vain."

"261. He in whom there is truth, love, restraint, moderation, he who is free from impurity and wise, he is called an Elder."

"393. A man does not become a Brahman by his platted hair, by his family or by birth. In whom there is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brahman."

"394. What is the use of platted hair, O fool, what of the raiment of goatskins? Within thee there is ravening, but the outside thou makest clean."—*Dhammapada.*

Buddhist Monastic System.—It is a mistake to suppose that Gautama recommended all men to resign their property and occupations in the world and turn monks. On the contrary, he had the same respect for the laity as the ancient Aryan law-codes had for students and householders, *i.e.* men in the first and second stages of the ideal Hindu life. And he laid down special rules for the guidance and enlightenment of his lay-disciples. On the other hand, his Holy Order corresponds with the third and fourth stages of the ideal Hindu life recognised in the old Aryan codes. It is for the men who embraced the Holy Order that the Buddha recommended resignation of the world and a communal life,

and the Holy Order established by him was the first monastic system of which we have any knowledge.

Gautama lived for forty-five years after he first proclaimed his religion, and there can be little doubt that he had ample time to elaborate rules for regulating the conduct and lives of his monks and nuns. It is equally certain that a great deal was added to these rules during the centuries after his death, and before the rules were recorded.

Buddhist monasteries multiplied all over India for a thousand years from the time of the Buddha, and during the centuries immediately before and after the Christian era these monasteries were the seats of learning and the centres of national education. The monks formed a hierarchy of priests, leading a life of celibacy, and performing rites and religious services strictly regulated by rules. They gave instruction to the youth of the country, and they spread themselves all over the land to minister to the religious needs of the laity. Chinese pilgrims and travellers who came to India after the Christian era visited these monasteries, made copies of manuscripts and religious works preserved there, and speak in the highest terms of the culture and learning of the times. And now that Buddhism has disappeared from India, the ruins of Buddhist churches and monasteries dating from the third or fourth century B.C. to A.D. 500 are the earliest existing specimens of Indian architecture.

It has been stated before that while the Buddhist laity still adhered to their caste divisions, no such distinction was recognised within the Holy Order. All men and women to whatever caste they belonged could become monks and nuns, and thenceforth they were equal to high-born monks and nuns. A touching record is kept in one of the Buddhist Scriptures of the manner in which a poor sweeper entered the Holy Order, and rose to be one of the Elders of the Buddhist Church.

"I have come," says Sunita the Elder, "of a humble family; I was poor and needy. The work I performed was lowly,—sweeping the withered flowers. I was despised of men, looked down upon, and

lightly esteemed. With submissive mien I showed respect to many. Then I beheld Buddha with his band of monks as he passed, the great hero, unto the most important town of Magadha. Then I cast away my burden, and ran to bow myself in reverence before him. From pity for me he halted, that highest among men. Then I bowed myself at the Master's feet, stepped up to him, and begged him, the highest among all beings, to accept me as a monk. Then said unto me the gracious Master, 'Come hither, O monk.' That was the initiation I received."—*Theragatha*.

It was this catholicity of the Buddhist religion, and the surpassing beauty of its moral precepts, that secured the spread of the new faith in India, and among nations living far beyond the limits of India. And there can be no doubt that the monastic system—which kept the Buddhist monks together as brethren and confederates in the work of spreading their faith, and as little coteries of teachers and learned men in strange lands and amidst strange nations—spread the religion over the eastern world, and saved it in quiet cloisters and shady groves, when nations were fighting with nations, and dynasties and empires were hurled to ruin. And at the present day, when twenty-four centuries have passed from the death of the Buddha, the religion of charity, forgiveness, and love which he founded embraces a third of the human race.

CHAPTER V

Buddhist Age, 315 B.C. TO A.D. 500

The Buddhist Age.—The death of Alexander the Great marks the commencement of a new epoch in the history of the world, and a new epoch in the history of India. The great political event of this age was that the whole of Northern India was for the first time united and consolidated into one great empire by the genius of Chandragupta. The great religious event of this age was that the religion founded by Gautama, which had for two centuries been making slow progress among the humble and the lowly, was embraced by Chandragupta's grandson, and became, so to speak, the state religion of India.

Chandragupta.—Chandragupta had met Alexander the Great in the Punjab; and it is possible that Alexander's great conquests filled his mind with similar schemes of ambition. It is certain that after the retreat of Alexander, Chandragupta wrested the throne of Magadha from an effete dynasty, conquered the whole of Northern India, drove out the Greeks from the Punjab, and thus formed the whole of Northern India into one united empire. Seleucus concluded a treaty of peace with the Indian Emperor, and gave his daughter in marriage with him. A Greek ambassador, Megasthenes, lived in the court of Chandragupta at Pataliputra (Patna) for a number of years; and his accounts, compiled from extracts found in the works of later Roman writers, throw considerable light on the condition of India in this age.

Megasthenes describes Pataliputra as a flourishing town in the shape of a parallelogram, nine miles long and two miles wide, girded by a wooden wall pierced with loopholes for the discharge of arrows, and defended by a moat. The emperor had a standing army of 600,000 foot, 30,000

horse, and 9000 elephants, "whence may be formed some conjecture as to the vastness of his resources."

Megasthenes on Administration. — It is seldom that we have the testimony of an impartial eye-witness in regard to ancient Hindu life, manners, and administration; and the account left to us by Megasthenes, of India in the fourth century before Christ, is therefore of exceptional value and interest to the historian. Of the administration of Pataliputra, the capital of the empire, Megasthenes speaks at some length:—

"Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The members of the first look after everything relating to the industrial arts. Those of the second attend to the entertainment of foreigners. . . . The third body consists of those who inquire when and how births and deaths occur, with the view not only of levying a tax, but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognisance of Government. The fourth class superintends trade and commerce. Its members have charge of weights and measures, and see that the products in their season are sold by public notice. No one is allowed to deal in more than one kind of commodity unless he pays a double tax. The fifth class supervises manufactured articles, which they sell by public notice. What is new is sold separately from what is old, and there is a fine for mixing the two together. The sixth and last class consists of those who collect the tenths of the prices of the articles sold."[1]

Outside the capital town there were bodies of officers for superintending agriculture, and generally for the administration of the country:—

"Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the wood-cutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners. They construct roads, and at every ten stadia set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances."[2]

Of the people of India Megasthenes gives a very good account:—

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[1] MacCrindle's Translation. [2] Ibid.

"They live happily enough, being simple in their manners and frugal. They never drink wine except at sacrifices. Their beverage is a liquor composed from rice instead of barley, and their food is principally a rice pottage. The simplicity of their laws and their contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges and deposits, nor do they require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits and confide in each other. . . . Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem."[1]

And lastly, in describing the general prosperity of the people of India, Megasthenes writes thus:—

"The greater part of the soil, moreover, is under irrigation, and consequently bears two crops in the course of the year. . . . In addition to cereals, there grows throughout India much millet, which is kept well watered by the profusion of river-streams, and much pulse of different sorts, and rice also, and what is called *bosporum*, as well as many other plants useful for food, of which most grow spontaneously. The soil yields, moreover, not a few other edible products fit for the subsistence of animals, about which it would be tedious to write. It is accordingly affirmed that famine has never visited India, and that there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food."[2]

Village Communities and Self-Government.— This is a pleasing picture of the general prosperity of an ancient and mainly agricultural nation under their own system of administration. Wars and dissensions were no doubt frequent, but these wars were waged by professional soldiers, and seldom disturbed the industrial or agricultural population. "The husbandmen," says Megasthenes, "are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable; the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger." And the people lived in peace in their ancient village communities, managing their own village concerns, enjoying the most complete autonomy in their village administration, and paying to the king's representative the tax assessed on every village. These self-governing village-communities existed in India from the dawn of history to the close of the eighteenth century after Christ; they survived the fate of dynasties and empires; they escaped danger and destruction when rival chiefs or races

[1] MacCrindle's Translation. [2] Ibid.

strove for the imperial power. Manu's Institutes, of which we shall speak farther on in this chapter, speak of a lord of each village, lords of ten villages, lords of a hundred villages, and lords of a thousand villages; and it was the duty of these lords to levy tax, check crime, and protect the villagers. Beyond this the control of the king's representatives did not extend; the nation lived in self-governing village institutions for thousands of years.

Asoka the Great.—Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusara about 290 B.C., and he was succeeded by his son, the renowned Asoka, in 260 B.C. This prince added Bengal and Orissa to the vast empire which he had inherited. By these conquests Asoka not only brought the whole of Northern India from the Indus to the Brahmaputra under one rule, but he also extended to the extreme east the light of Aryan civilisation which Northern India had enjoyed for fifteen centuries. Asoka's conquest of Bengal is therefore an important political fact; it brought the populous and fertile and unperfectly civilised province of Bengal for the first time within the pale of Aryan culture.

Asoka the Great did for Buddhism what Constantine the Great did for Christianity; he embraced the Buddhist religion, and made it the state religion of his great empire. Fortunately for us he has left us his edicts, engraved on rocks and pillars in various parts of India, which give us some insight into his times and his administration.

Asoka's Rock Edicts.—The edicts on rocks were inscribed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years from Asoka's coronation. The same series of fourteen edicts are found on rocks in different parts of India from the Indus to Orissa:—

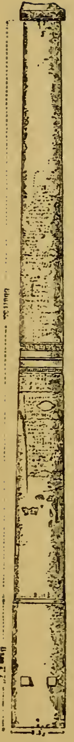
The *first* edict prohibited the slaughter of animals; the *second* provided medical aid for men and animals; the *third* enjoined a quinquennial Buddhist celebration; the *fourth* made an announcement of religious grace; the *fifth* appointed religious ministers and missionaries; the *sixth* appointed moral instructors to regulate the social and domestic life of the people; the *seventh* proclaimed universal religious toleration; the *eighth* recommended pious pastimes and enjoyments;

the *ninth* recommended the imparting of religious and moral instruction; the *tenth* extolled the true glory founded on spreading the true religion; the *eleventh* described the imparting of religious instruction as the best form of charity; the *twelfth* proclaimed the king's wish to convert unbelievers by moral persuasion; the *thirteenth* spoke of the king's conquest of Bengal, and of his treaties with five Greek kings into whose country he sent Buddhist missionaries; and the *fourteenth* summed up the preceding edicts with some remarks about the engraving of the edicts.

Buddhism Preached in the West.—Of all the edicts briefly indicated in the above summary, the thirteenth edict is the most important from a historical point of view. That celebrated edict makes mention of five Greek kings who were Asoka's contemporaries, as well as of the nations of Southern India. The passage runs thus:—

"Among his neighbours Antiochus, king of the Yavanas, and beyond Antiochus, four kings, Ptolemy, Antigonas, Magas, and Alexander; to the south among the Cholas, Pandyas, as far as Tambapanni, and also the Henaraja Vismavasi; among the Greeks and Kambojas, the Nabhakas and Nabhapantis, the Bhojas and the Petenikas, the Andhras and the Pulindas; everywhere they conform to the religious instructions of the Beloved of the Gods (Asoka). There where the messengers of the Beloved of the Gods have been sent, there the people heard of the duties of the religion preached on the part of the Beloved of the Gods, and conform, and will conform, to the religion on all sides."

We know from Greek records that in the third century before Christ, Antiochus ruled in Syria, Ptolemy in Egypt, Antigonas in Macedon, Magas in Cyrene, and Alexander in Epiros; and the edict of Asoka shows that Buddhist missionaries were sent, and Buddhism was preached, in these western lands in the third century before Christ. Nor were the labours of the Buddhist monks and missioners fruitless in these places. They continued their labours and preached their doctrines and parables from generation to generation; their communities, bound to a life of celibacy, increased from age to age as outsiders received instruction and joined their ranks; and their doctrines and precepts were widely known in Palestine when Jesus Christ was born. What Pliny says of the Essenes of the first century after Christ shows us the



ASOKA'S PILLAR.

results of Buddhist work during three hundred years in Syria:—

"On the western shore (of the Dead Sea), but distant from the sea far enough to escape its noxious breezes, dwelt the Essenes. They are a hermit clan, one marvellous beyond all others in the world, without any women, without the joys of domestic life, without money, and the associates of palm-trees. Daily is the throng of those who crowd about them renewed, men resorting to them in numbers, driven through weariness of existence, and the surges of ill-fortune in their manner of life. Thus it is, that through thousands of ages, incredible to relate, their society, in which no one is born, lives on perennial." —*Hist. Nat.*, v. 17.

Asoka's Pillar Edicts.—Asoka's pillar edicts, inscribed about the close of his reign, are of less historical importance. The edicts are eight in number:—

The *first* edict directed his religious ministers to work with zeal and piety; the *second* explained religion to be mercy, charity, truth, and purity; the *third* prescribed self-questioning, and the avoidance of sins; the *fourth* entrusted the religious instruction of the people to a class of officers called Rajjukas, and framed rules about prisoners condemned to death; the *fifth* prohibited the killing of various animals; the *sixth* proclaimed good-will to the people, and hope for the conversion of all sects; the *seventh* expressed a hope that the edicts and religious instructions would lead men to the right path; and the *eighth* recounted the king's works of public utility, and his measures for the religious advancement of the people.

Works of Public Utility.—"Along the highways," says Asoka in his last pillar edict, "I have planted nyagrodha-trees that they may give shade to men and to animals; I have planted out gardens with mangoes; I have caused wells to be dug at every half krosa; and in numerous places I have erected resting houses for the repose of men and of animals." Ancient Hindu kings rejoiced in such works of public utility, as we learn from numerous inscriptions of other kings.

The Andhra Emperors.—Asoka died in 222 B.C., and the great dynasty founded by his grandfather ended with the reigns of some feeble kings within forty years after Asoka's death. Two short-lived dynasties succeeded, and then a powerful Andhra chief conquered the kingdom of Magadha and commenced a new dynasty, which ruled from 26 B.C. to about A.D. 430. The power of the Andhra emperors varied from age to age, and at one time they were the supreme power in India, and extended their sway as far as the western seaboard. Saurashtra (Gujrat) was lost in the first century after Christ, but was reconquered in the second. By the fourth century the Andhras had declined in power, and a new dynasty, the famous Guptas, became the emperors of India.

The Gupta Emperors.—The Gupta emperors founded an era which commences from A.D. 319, and is said to have been established by Chandragupta I., the second ruler of this dynasty. He was succeeded by Samudragupta, who has left us an inscription on one of Asoka's pillars, testifying to his vast power in the fourth century. We learn from this inscription that the whole of Northern India bore the sway of Samudragupta, that kings in Southern India owned his supremacy, and that the frontier kingdoms of Bengal and Assam, Nepal and Malwa, paid him tribute. Samudragupta was succeeded by Chandragupta II. early in the fifth century, but before the close of that century foreign invaders were at the gates of the empire, and the Guptas declined in power.

Foreign Invasions—The Bactrian Greeks.—The path of invasion was opened by Alexander the Great, and his example was only too diligently followed by successive Western powers. The Greeks of Bactria were powerful in the second century before Christ. They repeatedly crossed the Indus and conquered portions of the Punjab; and one of them, Menander, penetrated as far as the Ganges. There can be little doubt that Greek art and learning exerted considerable influence on India from this age. We find Greek sculptures imbedded amidst Buddhist ruins, Greek

inscriptions stamped on Hindu coins, and Greek astronomers referred to by the astronomers of India.

The Turanians—Kanishka—The Shah Kings.—The Bactrian kingdom came to an untimely end in 126 B.C., when the Yu-Chis and other Turanian tribes swept through Central Asia. Havishka of this Yu-Chi tribe ruled in Kabul and conquered Kashmir; and his successors, Hashka and the renowned Kanishka, extended the power of the dynasty in the first century after Christ.

Kanishka was a great conqueror, and his empire extended from Kabul and Yarkhand to the Jumna and Gujrat. He was also a pious Buddhist, and held a great council to settle the Scriptures of the Northern Buddhists. And he founded the Saka era, commencing from A.D. 78, which is still one of the two eras prevalent in India. Thirty kings ruled in Kashmir after Kanishka; and then Matrigupta, the friend of Vikramaditya of Ujjain, ascended the throne in the sixth century after Christ.

Saurashtra, or Gujrat, had owned the sway of the mighty Kanishka, but became independent after his death, and a long line of twenty-seven kings ruled this kingdom from about A.D. 120 to 388. These kings are known as the Shah Kings of Gujrat, and have left us inscriptions of great historical value. We find from these inscriptions that Buddhism and Hinduism flourished side by side under these rulers of Western India, as the two religions flourished without discord under the Andhras and Guptas of Northern India and the Deccan. The most remarkable of these inscriptions is that of Rudra Daman in which he speaks of a bridge which he repaired. The causeway, so runs the inscription, had been repaired by an engineer of Chandragupta, and then by a Greek officer of Asoka the Great, and finally it was reconstructed by Rudra Daman himself. And he boasts in this inscription that he had overcome the Andhras of the Deccan, had concluded an alliance with them, and had extended his power over Saurashtra, Kach, and other places.

The White Huns.—The last horde of invaders who

penetrated into India from the West in this age were a section of the same Huns who swept through all Asia and convulsed Europe under the terrible Attila. Tribes of this people poured into India and attacked the Guptas, then the central power in India. The invincible Toramana wrested eastern Malwa from the Guptas in A.D. 466, and his son, the terrible Mihirakula, began his conquests in A.D. 515. The Guptas were hurled from their power, and their empire was destroyed.

Summary of the History of the Buddhist Age.— It will thus appear that the period of eight centuries which we have called the Buddhist Age is full of stirring incidents. The first century of this long age witnessed the consolidation of the empire of Northern India under Chandragupta, the acceptance of Buddhism as the state religion by Asoka the Great, and the spread of that religion by his monks and missionaries as far as Ceylon to the south, and Macedon, Egypt, and Palestine to the west. The scene then changes; the dynasty of Asoka is extinct, and in the first century after Christ we see the great Andhras ruling Magadha and Northern India, while Kanishka has founded a powerful dynasty in Kashmir. The scene changes once more; the supreme power in Northern India has passed from the Andhras to the Guptas by the fourth century, while Gujrat has shaken off the yoke of Kanishka's successors, and under the Shah Kings rivals the empire of the Guptas in power and splendour. And last of all, we witness the closing scene; the fierce Huns poured into India as they poured into every civilised country in the fifth century, and by the sixth century they have carved out a kingdom for themselves in the Punjab.

The waves of foreign conquest did not weaken the Hindu nation or the Hindu rule. Each new race of invaders from the first to the fifth century after Christ settled down in India, accepted Hinduism or Buddhism, and thus merged into and strengthened the confederation of Hindu races in ancient India.

Buddhist Architecture, Sculpture, and Paint-

ing.—Buddhist topes (mounds erected on sacred spots) and Buddhist churches and monasteries are to be found in many parts of India, and are the oldest existing specimens of Indian architecture. In many places the topes have disappeared, but the rails round them exist, and these rails are elaborately carved and sculptured.

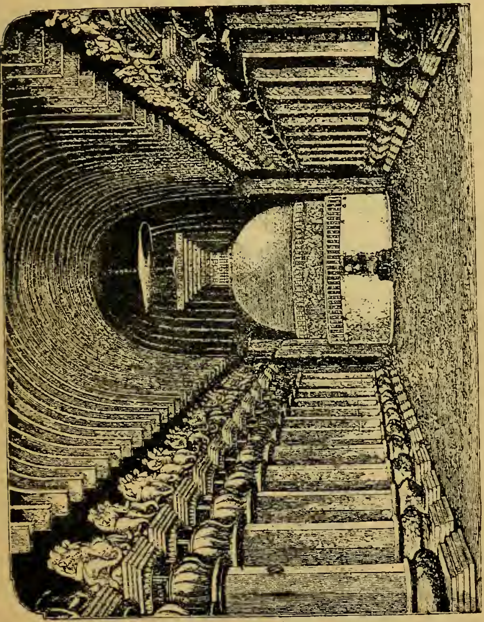
The rails of Buddha Gaya and Bharhut belong to the century of Asoka the Great. "When Hindu sculpture first dawns upon us in the rails of Buddha Gaya and Bharhut, 200 to 250 B.C., it is thoroughly original, absolutely without a trace of foreign influence, but quite capable of expressing its ideas, and of telling its story with a distinctness that never was surpassed, at least in India. . . . For an honest, purpose-like, pre-Raphaelite kind of art, there is probably nothing much better to be found anywhere."[1] At Bhilsa, in Central India, some twenty-five topes still exist, and the rails and gateways round the principal tope, known as the great tope of Sanchi, belong to the first century after Christ. The elaborate sculptures on these gateways represent scenes from the life of the Buddha and from Buddhist legends and birth-stories, and form a perfect picture Bible of Buddhism of the first century of the Christian era.

Turning now to Chaityas or Buddhist churches, it is necessary to premise that they are not constructed but excavated in rocks. Twenty or thirty churches are known to exist, and with one exception they are all excavated. The ground-plan of these Buddhist churches is very similar to Christian churches in Europe; but while the external view of Christian churches is their most notable and imposing feature, the Buddhist churches—being caves hollowed out in rocks—have no external view, except the façade, which is often elaborately ornamented.

There are several Buddhist churches excavated in the hills of the Western Ghats, and at Bedser and Nassik, the dates of which are the third and second century before Christ. But we

[1] Fergusson's *Indian and Eastern Architecture.*

come to the most perfect specimen of this kind of architecture when we come to the church of Karli, excavated in the first



CHAITYA OR CHURCH AT KARLI.

century before Christ. The building consists of a nave and side-aisles, terminating in an apse or semi-dome, round which

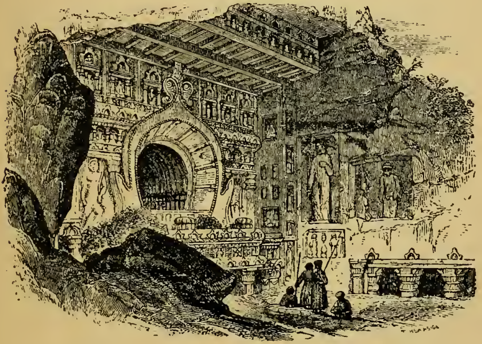
the aisle is carried. It is 126 feet from the entrance to the back wall, and 45 feet 7 inches in width. Fifteen pillars on each side separate the nave from the aisles, and each pillar has figures of elephants on the top, with well-executed human figures on them. Above this springs the semicircular roof, and the whole interior is lighted by one undivided volume of light coming from a single opening overhead.

Lastly, we turn to Viharas, or Buddhist monasteries which, like the churches, are also excavated, not constructed. The caves of Orissa are the earliest specimens of Buddhist monasteries that exist, and some of them are single cells in rocks hollowed out for the residence of single monks. In Western India, near Nassik, we have monasteries excavated by the Shah Kings in the centuries after the Christian era ; but the most interesting existing specimens of Buddhist monasteries in India are those of Ajanta, which together with the Ajanta Chaityas or churches were excavated in the fifth century after Christ.

Cave No. 16 of Ajanta measures 65 feet each way, and has twenty pillars. It has sixteen cells for monks on two sides, a great hall in the centre, a veranda in front, and a sanctuary in the back ; and all the walls are covered with fresco paintings, representing scenes from the life of Buddha, or from Buddhist legends. They are the earliest specimens of Indian painting extant ; and without pretending to high art, they are expressive, purpose-like, and pleasant.

Hindu Laws—The Institutes of Manu.—It has been said before that Hinduism and Buddhism flourished side by side in friendly rivalry in most parts of India during this age. High-caste and learned men generally adhered to their exclusive and ancient privileges, while the mass of the people were drawn away by the festivities and imposing processions and pilgrimages of Buddhism. Fa Hian, a renowned Chinese pilgrim and traveller who came to India early in the fifth century, found Hindu temples and Buddhist monasteries in every great town in Northern India, and does

not record one instance of hostilities or persecution. And all the great dynasties of the age—those of Chandragupta and of Kanishka, the Andhras, the Guptas, and the Shah Kings, encouraged the holy men of both religions, and bestowed valuable gifts of land and property on Brahmans and Buddhist monks alike. But, nevertheless, it is easy to conceive that Brahmans regarded with jealousy, and something like hatred, the mass of the people tempted away by



CHAITYA OR CHURCH AT AJANTA.

the popular gatherings, the gay pilgrimages, and the pompous processions of Buddhism. Images of the Buddha were worshipped with various rites by the million, and Buddhist shrines and sacred spots attracted pilgrims by the ten thousand. The course of events was irresistible, and Hinduism itself was gradually modified on these popular lines, and was becoming a religion of image-worship and of pilgrimages, the performance of Vedic sacrifices being neglected. Against

this general tendency of the times the supporters of the ancient religion strove in vain; and it is against this change from ancient Hinduism to modern Hinduism that the code known as the Institutes of Manu makes a stand.

The Institutes of Manu in their original form belonged to a preceding age, and like all older codes were in the Sutra or aphoristic form. That original work is lost, and the existing work is a later adaptation of it in verse, compiled probably in the century immediately before or after the Christian era. In its present form, therefore, it belongs to the Buddhist Age; and its contents sufficiently indicate that it stands half-way between the older *Dharma Sutras* of the Philosophical Age and the later *Dharma Sastras* of the Puranic Age, of which we shall speak in the next chapter. Unlike the former, it belongs to no particular Vedic school but is for all Aryans; and unlike the latter, it ignores Puranic mythology and modern Hinduism, and still prescribes Vedic rites and sacrifices.

Manu's code is divided into twelve books. The two longest books (viii. and ix.) are devoted to civil and criminal laws, and the civil laws of Manu are held to be the foundation of the Hindu law. The other books treat of civil and military administration, of religious rites and social and domestic duties. They are all interesting, and throw much light on ancient Hindu life and manners.

Manu speaks of the four stages of the life of a pious Aryan, and lays down the duties of each stage. He enumerates the sacraments which Aryans should perform, and dwells at length on the forms of marriage and the rules of inheritance. He emphatically recommends honour and respect to women, but lays down, on the other hand, that women should ever be dependent on men, and should never seek for separation from family:—

Honour to the faithful woman
  Be by loving husband paid,
By her father, by her brother,
  If they seek their virtue's meed.

Honour to the righteous woman
  Pleases Gods of righteous might,
For where woman is not honoured
  Vain is sacrificial rite.

And where women grieve and languish
  Perish men of fated race,
But in homes where they are honoured
  Prosper men in worth and grace.

—*Manu*, iii. 55 to 57.

Duteous girl obeys her father,
  And the husband sways the wife,
Son controls the widowed mother,
  Never free is woman's life.

From her father, son, or consort,
  Woman never should be free,
For her wilful separation
  Stains her husband's family.

Faithful to her loving consort,
  Apt in duties of her house,
Ever cheerful, careful, frugal,
  Is the true and duteous spouse.

—*Manu*, v. 148 to 150.

Astronomy.—It may easily be imagined that great progress was made in this brilliant age in sciences and arts. Most of the works, however, of this age have appeared in later forms in subsequent ages, and are therefore lost to us in their original shape. Hindu writers speak of eighteen *Siddhantas*, or astronomical systems, which flourished in this age. The oldest of them are those of Parasara and Garga, and require a brief mention.

Parasara is an ancient name in Hindu astronomy, and is connected with the compilation of the Vedic calendar; but the work Parasara Tantra, which professes to contain his teachings, belongs to the Buddhist Age. It is mostly written in prose, and has an entire chapter on geography, which was reproduced in the succeeding Age.

Garga is one of the few Hindu writers who tell us something of the Greek invasion of India in the second century before Christ. "The Yavanas (Bactrian Greeks) are outer

barbarians," he writes, "but amongst them this science (astronomy) is well established." And Garga describes how the Greeks conquered Oudh, Panchala, Mathura, and Patna, and then fell a prey to internal dissensions, and were succeeded by the Turanian conquerors. All these historical facts alluded to by Garga fix his date as the first century before Christ.

Another work on astronomy, known as Surya Siddhanta, was recast by the Hindu astronomers of the subsequent age, and has been translated into English. A fourth work, called Pulisa Siddhanta, is a Hindu adaptation from a Greek work, probably that of Paulus Alexandrinus. And a fifth work, known as Brahma Siddhanta, was also recast and reproduced by Hindu astronomers of the subsequent age.

Medicine and Surgery.—The science of Medicine was early cultivated in India, and modern researches have disclosed the fact that the Materia Medica of the Greeks, even of Hippocrates the "Father of Medicine," is based on the older Materia Medica of the Hindus.[1] The science made great progress in the Buddhist Age, and the two standard works on Hindu medicine, those of Charaka and Susruta, belong to this age. Charaka's work is divided into eight books, describing various diseases and their treatment; and Susruta's work has six parts, and specially treats of surgery and of operations which are considered difficult even in modern times. Various chemical processes were known to the Hindus. Oxides, sulphates, and sulphurets of various metals were prepared, and metallic substances were administered internally in India long before the Arabs borrowed the practice from them, and introduced it in Europe in the Middle Ages.

The earliest Arabian writers on medicine, Serapion, Rhazes, and Avicenna, mention Charaka by name in their works; and in the eighth century after Christ, Haroun-al-Rashid of Bagdad retained two Hindu physicians in his court, known as Manka and Saleh in Arabian records.

[1] Dr. Royle's *Antiquity of Hindu Medicine;* Dr. Wise's *Review of the History of Medicine.*

CHAPTER VI

Puranic Age, A.D. 500 TO 800

Vikramaditya the Great, Sixth Century.—Western India was desolated in the fifth and sixth centuries by foreign invaders, until a great Indian prince arose. Vikramaditya is to the Hindus what Alfred the Great is to the English people. He expelled foreign invaders, founded a powerful empire, and revived literature, science, and arts. As a literary period, his reign is one of the most brilliant in Indian history, and Kalidasa is assuredly the foremost poet of India, next after the unknown authors of the two ancient Epics. In science, too, an array of bright names throw light on the reign of Vikrama. And in religion his age marks the final triumph of modern Hinduism—that popular and catholic system of religion and worship which replaced Buddhism and reunited the Hindu nation of all castes and all ranks. And as if Vikrama's true claims to glory were not sufficient, innumerable tales and legends, current in India to this day, familiarise his name to the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant, the high and the low.

The historical events which are known of this great prince are very few. He defeated the foreign invaders, probably the Huns, in the region of Korur, between Multan and the castle of Loni. He had his capital at Ujjain in Central India, but his power was recognised all over Northern India. He placed his friend Matrigupta on the throne of Kashmir. He favoured the Hindu religion, but never persecuted Buddhists. He fostered poetry, arts, and science, and was surrounded by a group of distinguished men, who are still known as the "Nine Gems" of his court. And in his time was revived what seems to have been an old era current in Central India,


SOUTHERN
INDIA
IN THE
PURANIC AGE
A.D. 500-800
UTKALA
Mahanuddy R.
KALINGAS
Rajamandri
EASTERN
CHALUKYAS
Krishna R.
WESTERN CHALUKYAS
Kalyan
Taptee R.
Nurbudda R.
Kanchi
CHOLAS
Madura
PANDYAS
CHERAS

dating from 57 B.C. Since Vikrama's time it is connected with his name, and is known as the Samvat era.

Siladitya II., Seventh Century.—Siladitya I. became supreme in Northern India after the death of Vikrama; and after the reigns of two weak kings, Siladitya II. ascended the throne of Kanouj in A.D. 610, and ruled for forty years. He was a patron of letters and arts, and is himself known as an author under the name of Harsha. He was a friend of Buddhism, but never persecuted Brahmans; and a famous Chinese pilgrim and traveller, Houen Tsang, has left us accounts of a great quinquennial Buddhist celebration in his court, at which twenty kings, invited from different parts of India, were present.

Yasovarman and Lalitaditya, Eighth Century.—Yasovarman was a weak king who ruled in Kanouj in the eighth century, and he was defeated by Lalitaditya, king of Kashmir. The fact is interesting and important only in connection with Bhavabhuti, the last of the great poets of this brilliant age. Bhavabhuti was a native of Berar, and was living as an honoured poet in the court of Kanouj when the war broke out. And the king of Kashmir knew of no higher trophy of his victory than this great poet, whom he took away in triumph to Kashmir to grace his own court. No higher compliment has ever been paid by royalty to genius.

The brilliant age which began with Vikramaditya in the sixth century closes with the eighth, and was succeeded by centuries of wars and revolutions, of gloom and ignorance, corresponding to the Dark Ages of Europe. Of this we will speak in the next chapter.

Rise of Modern Hinduism.—We have in the last chapter briefly indicated the slow changes which the forms and the rites of the ancient Aryan religion underwent as it became more and more popularised and influenced by Buddhism. It was necessary that the rules and observances, framed for small Aryan colonies living in the midst of vast Hinduised nations, should undergo changes so as to meet the requirements of the people. Buddhism was the result of this

growing need, it spread and popularised the old Aryan doctrines of belief, it rejected Vedic sacrifices and exclusive rites, and it substituted a system of moral culture and moral precepts which all Hindus, all mankind, could learn and practise. The nation entered by the wide door which was thus opened to it, and Buddhism became more and more popular in its rites and forms, its pilgrimages and celebrations. Churches and monasteries were excavated, saints and relics were honoured, legends and tales were multiplied, and the image of the Buddha was worshipped in all parts of India after the Christian era. The old Aryan religion struggled in vain against these innovations; Manu's Institutes endeavoured in vain to make a stand for the ancient faith and observances.

During a thousand years Hinduism was influenced by Buddhism, until Hinduism adopted all that had made Buddhism popular, and thenceforth Buddhism declined. It is a mistake to suppose that Buddhism was stamped out in India by persecution; except in very rare instances, when conquerors indulged in cruelty and massacres, there was no religious persecution in India. Buddhism disappeared from India because its mission was fulfilled. Hinduism had adopted joyous celebrations and vast pilgrimages, Hinduism had assumed image-worship and popular rites, Hinduism had reunited the Aryans and the Hinduised non-Aryans into one homogeneous community, and thenceforth Buddhism declined in India because its mission was fulfilled and it ceased to be necessary.

Kumarila and Sankara.—Two great names are connected with the decline of Buddhism and the revival of Hinduism. Kumarila Bhatta lived in the seventh century, and wrote a famous commentary on the *Mimansa* system of philosophy, and he was the most uncompromising opponent of Buddhism in the world of controversy. He not only vindicated the ancient Vedic rites and fought against Buddhism, but he treated the Buddhists with scant courtesy even when they agreed with the orthodox doctrine. He was succeeded about the close of the eighth century by the still

more celebrated Sankara-Acharya, whose great commentary on the *Vedanta* philosophy is considered authoritative in India to the present day. And he upheld and preached the ancient doctrine of the Universal Soul against more recent and heterodox opinions.

But so far as the people were concerned, Kumarila and Sankara lived and worked in vain. The ancient Vedic rites could not be revived; they had excluded the mass of the people; and they perished under the attacks of the great leveller Gautama the Buddha. The people rejoiced in the new form of Hinduism which admitted the people within its pale, which allowed them a share in its joyous celebrations, its image-worship, and its popular pilgrimages. Kumarila and Sankara triumphed against declining Buddhism; but their works were as fruitless as the Institutes of Manu against the rising tide of a new Hinduism, deeply tinctured with popular rites and celebrations borrowed from Buddhism.

Cardinal Doctrines of New and Old Hinduism. —It should be remembered that in cardinal doctrines New Hinduism was not divergent from the ancient religion of the Upanishads. Both recognise one God, the All-pervading Breath, the Universal Soul. Both maintain that the Universe is an emanation from Him, subsists in Him, and will resolve itself into Him. Both recognise rewards and punishments in future lives according to our deeds in this world. And both insist on the final absorption of all souls in the Deity after a number of reincarnations.

Rites and Practices of Old and New Hinduism. —It is in rites and practices and popular beliefs that modern Hinduism is totally divergent from the ancient religion. The Vedic religion insisted on sacrifices to the Powers of Nature; modern Hinduism inculcates belief in the threefold power of the Supreme Being, viz. Creation, Preservation, and Destruction; and this is known as the Hindu Trinity under the names of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. The Vedic hymns celebrated the deeds of the Nature-gods—Indra, Agni, Varuna, Surya, and the rest; modern Hinduism multiplies the myths

and legends of these gods and goddesses until they form a vast and comprehensive system of popular mythology for the people. The Vedic religion insisted on sacrifices to the fire as its form of worship; modern Hinduism pays worship to images, and rejoices in pompous celebrations and pilgrimages.

Puranas.—The works which promulgate and elucidate modern Hinduism, and from which this last Age derives its name, are the eighteen voluminous *Puranas* said to comprise about 400,000 couplets. A class of works known as the *Puranas* was known in the pre-Buddhist Ages, and consisted of chronicles of olden times. But these have long since been replaced by the voluminous works which we have before us now, and which are the growth of many centuries, probably from the fifth to the fifteenth. They consist of endless legends about ancient kings and heroes, scraps of history or rather lists of kings of the Solar and Lunar dynasties and of the Magadha empire, long chapters on cosmogony and theology, descriptions of sacred sites and places of pilgrimage, and accounts of the gods and goddesses of the modern Hindu pantheon. Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva are recognised as manifestations of the Supreme God, and sectarian controversies about the two last-named deities fill a large portion of these modern compilations. For Siva and Vishnu became the favourite deities of the later-day Hindus; sects of Vishnu worshippers and Siva worshippers multiplied all over India; aud generations of poets who added to the *Puranas* from century to century worshipped the one or the other as the Supreme God. The consciousness of One Supreme Power which underlies Hinduism was never entirely absent even in the popular mind, and the worship of Siva or Vishnu by the various contending sects of India was marked by that fervent love and devotion to One personal God, which is true Hindu Monotheism. This idea dominates popular worship, and has characterised every religious movement in modern times, as we shall see later on.

Dharma Sastras.—The ancient Law Codes and the Institutes of Manu were succeeded by a host of other works,

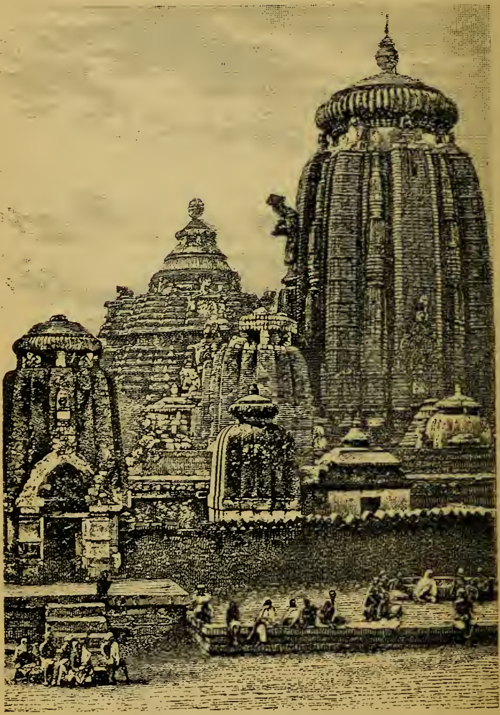
mostly adapted from more ancient codes, but so recast as to suit the altered customs of the later Age. These works are known as *Dharma Sastras*, and many of them have apparently been altered in recent centuries after the Mahomedan conquest of India. Vedic rites and sacrifices have been replaced in these works by modern forms of worship, and every distinct trade or profession has crystallised into a distinct caste.

Hindu Architecture and Sculpture.—There are very few specimens of pure Buddhist architecture of a later date than the fifth century, while the earliest existing specimens of Hindu architecture date from the sixth century. The history of Indian architecture thus confirms the division we have made between the Buddhist and Puranic Ages.

Dr. Fergusson describes three distinct styles of Hindu architecture. The *Northern Indian style* has some distinct and well-defined features, and the temples generally consist of a high curvilinear tower and a porch with a conical roof. The numerous stone-built temples of Bhuvaneswar, in Orissa, are the best and purest specimens of this style, and among them the Great Temple of Bhuvaneswar is the most imposing. The tower is 180 feet high, and the exterior is covered with elaborate carving and sculptures which are estimated to have cost three times as much as the erection of the building itself. Infinite labour has been bestowed on every detail of the carving; the sculpture is of a high order and great beauty of design; and the effect of the whole is marvellously beautiful.

Not many miles from Bhuvaneswar is the "Black Pagoda," visible from the sea by coasting steamers, and being the porch of a great temple which itself is in ruins. The porch stands stupendous and solitary in an open spot, strewed with ruins on all sides, and is among the most magnificent edifices of the past that India or any other country can boast of. The exterior is carved with infinite variety in all its twelve faces, and the sculpture work is of the best order that is to be seen anywhere in India.

The date of the "Black Pagoda" is said to be the ninth



THE GREAT TEMPLE OF BHUVANESWARA.

century ; and when we compare that with the present Great Temple of Puri, built in the twelfth century, we mark at once the decline of Hindu architecture within this period. The Puri Temple, perhaps the greatest place of pilgrimage in Northern India at the present day, has a tower 192 feet high, but both in its outline and details shows a decline in art.

When we travel out of Orissa to the holy places of Northern India, like Benares or Mathura, we find only modern temples, constructed within the last two or three hundred years. The whole of Northern India from the Punjab to Bengal was under Mahomedan rulers from the twelfth to the eighteenth century, and few good specimens of ancient architecture have survived.

The far-famed temples of Ellora, carved out of solid rock, and considered one of the wonders of the world, are a good specimen of the *Southern Indian style*. One of them, the temple of Kailasa, was erected in the eighth or ninth century, and is imposing in its solid grandeur. A vast pit of 270 feet by 150 feet is excavated in solid rock, and in the centre of it stand the temple with a high tower, a large porch supported by sixteen columns, a detached porch, and a gateway. All this is not built up, but carved out of the solid rock which has been cleared away around the edifices.

When we travel farther to the south we find numerous groups of great and gorgeous temples, but all of them of comparatively modern dates, having been built within the last five centuries. To this class belong the great temples of Tanjore and Chillambarum, of Madura and Seringham, of Rameswaram and Conjeveram, and even of Vijaynagar. Hindu rule was never completely extinguished in Southern India ; and the construction of great edifices was going on even to the last century, when the English and the French were struggling for the mastery of the Karnatic.

The third style is what may be called *the Deccan style*, the temples having a polygonal or star-shaped base. The Kaet Iswara temple and the three groups of temples built by the

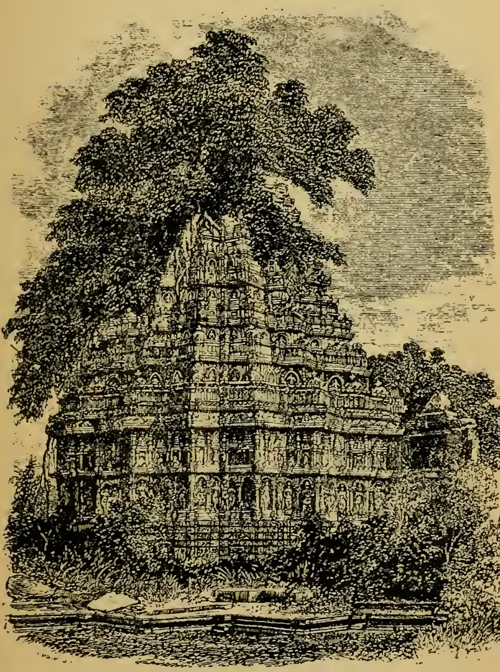
Ballala dynasty between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries are the best specimens of this style. It is in reference to one of these, the Hullabid Temple, that Dr. Fergusson makes some excellent remarks on Greek and Indian architecture, which we should place before our readers :—

"All the pillars of the Parthenon are identical, while no two facets of the Indian temple are the same; every convolution of every scroll is different. No two canopies in the whole building are alike, and every part exhibits a joyous exuberance of fancy, scorning every mechanical restraint. All that is wild in human faith or warm in human feeling is found portrayed on these walls; but of pure intellect there is little, less than there is of human feeling in the Parthenon. . . . For our purpose, the great value of the study of these Indian examples is that it widens so immensely our basis for architectural criticism. It is only by becoming familiar with forms so utterly dissimilar from those we have hitherto been conversant with, that we perceive how narrow is the purview that is content with one form or one passing fashion. By rising to this wider range we shall perceive that architecture is as many-sided as human nature itself, and learn how few feelings and how few aspirations of the human heart and brain there are that cannot be expressed by its means." [1]

Astronomy.—This ancient science received great encouragement in the age of Vikramaditya, and three of the brightest names in Hindu astronomy belong to the sixth and seventh centuries. Aryabhatta was born in Pataliputra (Patna) in A.D. 476, and wrote a work which is known by his name. He maintains the theory of the revolution of the earth on its own axis, and explains the true cause of the solar and lunar eclipses. We find also in his work the names of the twelve signs of the solar zodiac. Ancient Hindu astronomers had marked the lunar zodiac—the twenty-seven constellations along the path of the moon; for the solar zodiac they are undoubtedly indebted to Western observers.

Varaha-mihira was born about A.D. 505, and was one of the "Nine Gems" of the court of Vikramaditya. He compiled and recast the five older *Siddhantas* of which we have made mention in the last chapter, and he also wrote an encyclopædic work, known as *Brihat Sanhita*, consisting of 106 chapters. Besides astronomy proper, it treats of rains, winds,

[1] *Indian and Eastern Architecture.*



KAET ISWARA TEMPLE, SOUTHERN INDIA.

and earthquakes, of architecture and temple-building, of precious stones and animals and various other subjects.

The third great astronomer of the age was Brahmagupta, who wrote in A.D. 628. His work consists of twenty-one chapters, of which the first ten comprise his astronomical system. The next ten are supplementary, and the last chapter is a treatise on spherics.

Drama, Poetry, and Fiction. — Kalidasa, one of the "Nine Gems" of Vikramaditya's court, has a world-wide reputation; and his immortal drama, *Sakuntala*, translated into English in the last century, first attracted the attention of European scholars to the wealth and beauty of ancient Sanscrit literature. This translation therefore, made by Sir William Jones, has a historical interest, and marks the commencement of European research into Indian antiquities. The play describes the love of a legendary prince for a forest-maiden born of a nymph, and the freshness, tenderness, and pathos of the drama have seldom been excelled by any other creation of the human imagination. The first meeting of the prince and the simple forest girl is well described; love is followed by a secret marriage; and when at last the girl leaves her rural home to join her consort, the scene is indescribably pathetic.

Kanna. Hear, all ye trees of this hallowed forest; ye trees in which the sylvan goddesses have their abode; hear and proclaim that Sakuntala is going to the palace of her wedded lord;—she who drank not, though thirsty, before you were watered; she who cropped not, through affection of you, one of your fresh leaves, though she would have been pleased with such an ornament for her locks; she whose chief delight was in the season when your branches are spangled with flowers!

Chorus of Invisible Wood-nymphs. May her way be attended with prosperity! May propitious breezes sprinkle for her delight the odoriferous dust of rich blossoms! May pools of clear water, green with the leaves of the lotos, refresh her as she walks! And may shady branches be her defence from the scorching sunbeams!

. . . .

Sakuntala. Ah! what is it that clings to the skirts of my robe, and detains me?

Kanna. It is thy adopted child, the little fawn, whose mouth, when the sharp points of the Kusa grass had wounded it, has been so often smeared by thy hand with the healing oil of Ingudi; who has been so

often fed by thee with a handful of Syamaka grass, and now will not leave the footsteps of his protectress.

Sakuntala. Why dost thou weep, tender fawn, for me, who must leave our common dwelling-place? As thou wast reared by me when thou hadst lost thy mother, who died soon after thy birth, so will my foster-father (Kanna) attend thee, when we are separated, with anxious care. Return, poor thing, return, we must part.

[*She bursts into tears.*

. . . .

Kanna. Come, my beloved girl, give a parting embrace to me, and to thy tender companions.

Sakuntala. Must Anusuya and Priyamvada return to the hermitage?

Kanna. They too, my child, must be suitably married; and it would not be proper for them to visit the city; but Gautami will accompany thee.

Sakuntala [embracing him]. Removed from the bosom of my father, like a young sandal tree, rent from the hills of Malaya, how shall I exist in a strange soil?

—*Sir W. Jones's translation.*

Besides *Sakuntala*, two other dramas of Kalidasa are still extant, viz., his *Vikrama and Urvasi* and his *Malavika and Agnimira.* In descriptive and narrative poetry also he takes the highest place among the poets of this age. His *Cloud Messenger* is a descriptive poem, unique in its richness of description and melody of verse. His *Dynasty of Raghu* describes the history of the kings of the Solar line. And his *Birth of the War God* describes the love of the god Siva for the mountain maiden Uma.

Kalidasa was succeeded by Bharavi, who wrote a spirited poem on the *Kirata and Arjuna*, the encounter of Siva disguised as a forester with Arjuna, an episode from the ancient Indian Epic, *Maha-bharata.*

In the seventh century Siladitya II. himself figures as a poet under the name of Harsha, and an elegant drama, *Ratnavali*, is ascribed to him. Three great works of fiction also belong to this age. Dandin wrote his *Adventures of the Ten Princes;* Bana wrote his immortal *Kadamvari;* and Subandhu wrote his *Vasavadatta.* The collection of tales known as *Panchatantra* belongs to an earlier century, and has been translated into every literary language of Asia and Europe under the title of the fables of Pilpay.

The eighth century boasts of one great writer, a rival of Kalidasa himself. Bhavabhuti, as we have stated before, was born in Berar, and flourished in the court of Kanouj, and he was thence taken away to Kashmir by the warlike Lalitaditya. He has left us three dramas which, if somewhat inferior to Kalidasa's plays in grace and elegance of verse, are perhaps superior to them in their depth of feeling. His *Malati and Madhava* is a work of superior merit; *The Early Life of Rama* is less important; but *The Last Years of Rama* is of all his works the best known in India. The plot is taken from the *Ramayana*, but the pathos and beauty of the piece are unsurpassed by anything ever written in India. Rama's tender love for Sita, and his bitter grief after her banishment, run through the piece like a thread of the purest gold:—

Rama. Be these arms thy pillow,
Thine, ever since the nuptial knot united us,
Thine, in the days of infancy and youth,
In lowly thickets and in princely palaces,
Thine, ever thine.
Sita. True, true, my ever kind and cherished lord.
[*Sleeps.*

Rama. Her latest waking words are words of love,
And nought of her but is most dear to me.
Her presence is ambrosia to my sight;
Her contact fragrant sandal; her fond arms
Twined round my neck are a far richer clasp
Than costliest gems; and in my house she reigns
The guardian goddess of my fame and fortune.
—*H. H. Wilson's translation.*

One more drama known as *The Toy Cart* deserves mention for its great power and its realistic description of ancient Ujjain. The great Augustan era of Sanscrit literature and science closed with the eighth century, and after that we find no great names during centuries of internal dissensions and troubles which followed. The old and effete dynasties of Northern India disappear from the stage of history; and in the midst of wars and revolutions a new and vigorous race, the Rajputs, become the masters of India.

CHAPTER VII

Age of Rajput Ascendency, A.D. 800 TO 1200

Dark Ages.—Northern India has scarcely any history for some centuries after the brilliant age of Bhavabhuti and Sankara-Acharya. We have records of no great kings, no great dynasties, no great empire. No notable works of art or architecture have come down to us. No great name belonging to science or literature has been handed down. A thick and impenetrable darkness hangs over these centuries in Northern India.

The Rajputs.—But we dimly perceive the main course of events. The same fate overtook Northern India that overtook Western Europe about the same period. The power of old and effete nations was swept away, young and vigorous races stepped forward to take their place. The Rajputs, claiming descent from the Balabhi kings of Gujrat, overturned ancient kingdoms, subjugated ancient races, and filled ancient thrones, even as races of Germans, issuing from their northern forests, conquered every kingdom in Western Europe from the effete Romans. It was a great political and racial revolution in Northern India as in Western Europe—the decline of an old civilisation and the dawn of a new order of things.

The parallel goes somewhat farther. The new masters of Europe had to contend for supremacy with a nation of conquerors whom the trumpet voice of Mahomed had launched in Asia, Africa, and Europe. Spain succumbed to the conquerors, France was saved by Charles Martel, and from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries the contest went on in Palestine. The new masters of Northern India had to contend with the same great power; Muhammad Kasim invaded India at the time when his coreligionists were invading Spain and France; and Prithu Rai vainly struggled

to save Delhi and Northern India from Muhammad Ghori at the very time when Philip Augustus and Richard the Lion-hearted were vainly endeavouring to wrest the Holy Land from the great Saladin.

Muhammad Kasim.—The invasion of Muhammad Kasim took place in 711. An Arab ship was seized by the Hindus at the seaport of Dewal, and Dahir the Rajput king of Sindh refused restitution. Muhammad Kasim was accordingly sent against him, penetrated as far as Alor the capital of Sindh, and killed Dahir in a pitched battle. Multan and the whole of Dahir's kingdom were conquered, but the conqueror was recalled soon after, and the expedition was at an end. The Musalmans, however, continued to hold sway over some parts of Sindh.

Twelve Expeditions of Mahmud of Ghazni.—We hear nothing more about Mahomedan invasions in India for nearly two hundred years after the time of Kasim. In the beginning of the eleventh century, however, a greater invader appeared on the scene. The conquests of Mahmud of Ghazni are generally known as his Twelve Expeditions, though he appears to have penetrated into India more than twelve times. Some of these Twelve Expeditions require a brief mention.

The first expedition was in 1001 against the brave Jaipal, who was beaten near Peshawar and taken prisoner. Mahmud then penetrated beyond the Sutlej, and on his return to Ghazni released Jaipal on receipt of a large ransom. The brave Rajput was, however, disgraced in the eyes of his countrymen by his defeat and captivity; he made over his kingdom to his son Anangapal, mounted the funeral pyre, and perished in the flames.

In 1808 Mahmud undertook his fourth expedition. Anangapal was prepared for the attack and had received help from the Hindu kings of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kanouj, Kalinjar, Delhi, and Ajmir. A vast army was thus collected, and "Hindu females," says the Mahomedan historian Ferishta, "sold their jewels and melted down their

ornaments (which they sent from distant parts) to furnish resources for the war." The patriotic war failed against the discipline of Mahmud's troops; the Hindus were defeated; and Mahmud once more penetrated into the Punjab and plundered the sacred fort of Nagarkot.

The sixth expedition was in 1011, and was an expedition of plunder against the famous and holy temple of Thaneswar. The images were broken and the temple plundered, and a vast number of men and women were carried away as slaves. "Ghazni appeared," says Ferishta, "like an Indian city, no soldier of the camp being without wealth or without many slaves."

In the ninth expedition, undertaken in 1017, Mahmud for the first time penetrated as far as the Ganges. He suddenly appeared before Kanouj, and Rajyapal king of Kanouj was taken unawares and submitted to the conqueror. Mahmud then proceeded to Mathura, the sacred city of Northern India, and was struck with the splendour of the place. "There are here," he wrote to his governor of Ghazni, "a thousand edifices as firm as the faith of the faithful, most of them of marble, besides innumerable temples; nor is it likely this city has attained its present condition but at the expense of many millions of dinars, nor could such another be constructed under a period of two centuries." It speaks little for the generosity of the conqueror that he pillaged this splendid city for twenty days, and went away with an immense booty.

In 1024 Mahmud undertook his twelfth and last expedition against Anhalwara or Pattan, the capital of Gujrat. The object apparently was to plunder the famous temple of Somanath of its enormous hoarded wealth. Mahmud defeated the king of Anhalwara in a well-contested battle, took the well-defended fort temple of Somanath, broke the image, and plundered the treasure. "The treasure found in Somanath," says Ferishta, "was more than any royal treasury contained before."

The last years of Mahmud were spent in conquering Persia, and he died in 1030. He was a great general and

conqueror, but had not the genius for founding a lasting empire. His expeditions served no civilised purpose, did not spread his own faith, and did not conduce to the establishment of a stable empire. They form a sickening record of the plunder of rich temples and towns, the massacre of brave garrisons, and the enslaving of unoffending men and women by the hundred thousand. Cupidity was the principal motive of his conquests, and has been condemned in immortal verse by Ferdusi, the greatest of Persian poets, who lived during the time of Mahmud.

Northern India in the Eleventh Century.—Alberuni, a native of Khiva, was another contemporary of Mahmud, and was brought by Mahmud to Ghazni. He studied the learning and the sciences of the Hindus, and has left an account of Northern India in the eleventh century which is valuable. The whole of Northern India was divided into small Rajput kingdoms and principalities which formed a strong confederation of Hindu nations. Rajyapala king of Kanouj was the central ruler, and his vast dominions included Bengal in the east. In the extreme north Kashmir was an independent kingdom, and this ancient Hindu state retained its independence till it was conquered by Akbar the Great in the sixteenth century. Peshawar was under Jaipal and Anangapal, as we have seen before, and Sindh was ruled by a number of Moslem chiefs. Gujrat was governed by the Chalukya Rajputs, whose rule was scarcely interrupted by Mahmud's invasion of Somanath. Malwa was under another Rajput race, and Bhojadeva, who ruled from 997 to 1053, was an enlightened patron of letters, and revived the memories of Vikramaditya and of Siladitya. Everywhere the dark ages were at an end, Rajput rule was firmly established, and Hindu learning was reviving under the patronage of the Rajput masters of Northern India.

The Deccan.—After the decline of the great Andhra nation, the Chalukya Rajputs ruled the Deccan from the fifth to the twelfth century. The western branch of this royal house held sway over the Mahratta country, and had its

capital at Kalyan. Jaya Sinha, the founder, is said to have descended from the Balabhi dynasty of Gujrat; and one of his successors, Pulakesin II., held his own against Siladitya II., the Emperor of Northern India in the seventh century. The powerful dynasty continued its rule with some interruptions until 1189.

The eastern branch of this Chalukya house held sway over the eastern seaboard from the mouths of the Krishna to Orissa, and had its capital at Rajamandri. Vishnu Vardhana founded the house early in the seventh century, and his descendants held rule, with some interruptions, until the kingdom passed by marriage in the eleventh century to Rajendra Chola, then master of Southern India.

Southern India.—India to the south of the Krishna river was from ancient times the seat of three sister kingdoms, viz. Chola, Chera, and Pandya. The Chola kingdom was the eastern seaboard, north and south of the Kaveri river, and had its capital in the classic town of Kanchi, now called Conjeveram. The Chera kingdom was the western seaboard, including modern Travancore. The Pandya kingdom was in the extreme south, and included the districts now known as Madura and Tinnevelly. The Pandyas were the most ancient of the three; they are referred to in the inscriptions of Asoka in the third century before Christ; and they carried on a brisk trade with the Romans immediately before and after the commencement of the Christian era. The Cholas, however, rose in power later on, and we have seen that Rajendra Chola was the master of all Southern India in the eleventh century.

As elsewhere, the Rajputs then came and conquered. The Bellala Rajputs founded a powerful kingdom on the ruins of the three sister kingdoms in the eleventh century, and their power was supreme in Southern India until it was subverted by the Mahomedans in 1310. In Eastern Deccan the Kakati Rajputs rose in the eleventh century, and continued to rule till they were crushed by the Mahomedans in 1323.

Orissa.—The famous Kesari or Lion dynasty ruled in Orissa from the fifth to the twelfth century, and the wonder-

ful specimens of Hindu architecture in Bhuvaneswar and Kanarak, of which we have spoken in the last chapter, owe their origin to this great dynasty. Their capital was at Bhuvaneswar, and then at Jajpur; and in the tenth century they founded Cuttack. This dynasty was succeeded by the Ganga or Gangetic line, which ruled from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, and the present Great Temple of Puri was built by a prince of this dynasty. Five kings of a new dynasty reigned in the sixteenth century, after which the country was conquered by the Mahomedans in 1560.

Bengal.—Bengal, like Orissa, was drawn within the pale of Aryan civilisation by the conquests of Asoka in the third century before Christ, and in the centuries after the Christian era was the seat of five flourishing and populous kingdoms. The north, south, east, and west portions were known respectively as Pundra, Tamralipta, Samatata, and Karna Suvarna, while Assam was known as Kamarupa.

In the ninth century the Rajputs founded the Pala dynasty of Bengal, and their possessions extended as far as Kanouj when Mahmud invaded that town. But as the Palas moved westwards, the dynasty of the Senas replaced them in the east.

One of these Senas, known as Adisura, is said to have brought learned Brahmans and Kayasthas from Kanouj to Bengal; and another of them, Ballala Sena, is said to have classified those castes into Kulins or pure, and Mauliks or mixed. The last of the Sena kings was ruling in Nadiya when Bengal was conquered by the Mahomedans in 1204.

Literature and Science. — The foregoing brief account of the different states which flourished in India immediately before the Mahomedan conquest will enable us to take a bird's-eye view of India under the Rajputs. The country had settled down after dynastic and racial wars, and the different states formed a great confederation of Hindu nations, which could combine against a foreign invader when there was occasion. Literature and science revived

under this new order of things, even as literature and science revived in Western Europe under its new German masters from the twelfth century.

The poet Magha flourished in the eleventh century in the court of king Bhoja of Malwa, of whom we have spoken above, and composed a poem called *Sisupala-Badha*, which is widely read in India to the present day. It is an episode from the old epic, *Maha-bharata*, and describes the slaying of Sisupala by Krishna. Another poem, *Naishadha*, which is founded on another episode of the same epic, was composed by Sri Harsha, probably of Benares or Bengal, in the twelfth century. Two meritorious dramas, much read up to the present day, the *Mudra Rakshasa* and the *Veni Sanhara*, were also composed in this age. Somadeva of Kashmir compiled from ancient records his delightful and invaluable collection of tales known as *Katha-Sarit-Sagara*, the ocean of the rivers of tales; and the *Hitopadesa* was compiled from the stories of the older Panchatantra, spoken of in the last chapter. And lastly, Jayadeva of Bengal sang the loves of Krishna and Radha in his well-known *Gita-Govinda*, the most melodious lyric ever written in the Sanscrit language. The whole poem is an allegory meant to depict the love of living beings for the Supreme Being, but the allegory is overlaid and hidden by rich and vivid description. The pleasures of the senses—of smell, sight, and touch—are thus described in the loves of milkmaids for Krishna:—

One with star-blossomed champac wreathed, woos him to rest his head,
On the dark pillow of her breast so tenderly outspread;
And o'er his brow with roses blown she fans a fragrance rare,
That falls on the enchanted sense like rain in thirsty air;
While the company of damsels wave many an odorous spray,
And Krishna laughing, toying, sighs the soft spring away.

Another gazing in his face, sits wistfully apart,
Searching it with those looks of love that leap from heart to heart;
Her eyes—afire with shy desire, veiled by their lashes black—
Speak so that Krishna cannot choose but send the message back;
In the company of damsels whose bright eyes in the ring
Shine round him with soft meanings in the merry light of spring.

The third one of that dazzling band of dwellers in the wood—
Body and bosom panting with the pulse of youthful blood—
Leans over him, as in his ear a lightsome thing to speak,
And then with leaf-soft lip imprints a kiss below his cheek;
A kiss that thrills, and Krishna turns at the silken touch
To give it back,—Ah, Radha! forgetting thee too much.
—*Sir Edwin Arnold's translation.*

In Science we have one bright name in the twelfth century, that of the renowned Bhaskara-Acharya. He completed his great astronomical work, the *Siddhanta-Siromani*, in 1150. The preliminary portions of the work on algebra and arithmetic have been translated into English by Colebrooke.

Religious Beliefs—Sects of Siva and Vishnu. —Hindu religion, in its new or Puranic form, was favoured by the Rajput masters of India and spread itself over the land, and Buddhism died a natural death except in some isolated spots. Of the Puranic Trinity, Siva and Vishnu became popular with worshippers, and rival sects, paying special homage to the one or the other deity, gradually multiplied in India. The literature and architecture of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries seem to indicate the predominance of the faith of Siva, while the literature and architecture of succeeding centuries seem to indicate the rising popularity of the faith of Vishnu. Kalidasa and Bharavi had sung of Siva in the sixth century; Magha and Jayadeva sang of Vishnu in the eleventh and twelfth. The Lion dynasty had built temples to Siva at Bhuvaneswar in the seventh century; the Gangetic dynasty dedicated them to Vishnu at Puri in the twelfth. The ancient Epics and the Puranas themselves passed through the hands of Vaishnava editors, and the cult of Vishnu is their prevailing complexion in their present form.

Rama the hero of the *Ramayana*, Krishna one of the heroes of the *Maha-bharata*, and even Buddha himself who had received popular worship for a thousand years, were all considered incarnations of Vishnu; and thus the popular mind was concentrated more and more on Vishnu-worship. It was, however, Vishnu's incarnation as Krishna, that became the most favourite object of worship. Krishna-cult had pre-

vailed for many centuries among different sects in India, known as the Bhagavatas or Pancharatras, but it was after the decline of Buddhism that the cult increased in popularity. The popular mind needed an object of worship nearer to the heart, and clearer to the understanding, than the Universal Soul of the Upanishads; and Krishna supplied this place which Buddha had supplied for ten centuries. The tales and legends of Krishna supplanted the birth-stories of Buddha; sites of Buddhist pilgrimages became converted into sites of Vaishnava pilgrimages; and even Buddhist monastic life, which had been so strong an agent in the propagation of the faith, was adopted to some extent by the followers of Krishna. The millions of India knew little of the philosophical doctrines of the Upanishads or the decaying superstitions of Buddhism; to them Krishna-worship came as a popular monotheism decked in popular legends and tales. While they believed in many gods and goddesses, they still vaguely felt that they were all but one Power, and that Power appeared on earth as Krishna to overthrow the wrong-doer and to establish righteousness. Religious thinkers in the seventh and eighth centuries like Kumarila and Sankara had stood up for Vedic rite and doctrine; but Ramanuja the great religious preacher of the twelfth century stood up for popular monotheism—for the religion of One God, and that God was called by the name of Vishnu or Krishna. The movement started by Ramanuja did not end with him or with the loss of Hindu independence. The religious Hindu mind still struggled through the long centuries of Mahomedan rule towards a simple and popular form of monotheism. Amidst the dissensions of rival sects, and in spite of belief in many gods and the practice of many rites and ceremonies, we still find the millions of India holding to the cult of Krishna as a simple monotheism which they understood; and we find religious reformers in succeeding centuries following in the footsteps of Ramanuja and preaching the faith of one God, under the name of Vishnu or Krishna.

Modern Languages.—Such is the spirit of the modern

Hindu religion of the million, and it is preached and proclaimed in modern languages. The old Sanscrit was a spoken tongue down to about 800 B.C., and was then softened into the Pali language in which Buddhism was proclaimed. The Pali language had broken up into the Prakrits or the people's dialects when the new form of Hinduism arose in the fifth or sixth century after Christ. And the great political and racial revolution of the ninth and tenth centuries, which led to the ascendency of the Rajputs and spread the cults of Siva and Vishnu, marked a further change in the spoken tongue of India, and the Prakrits were replaced by the modern languages of India. Hindi in one form or another became the language of Northern India ; Bengali and Maharati continued to be spoken in the east and the west ; while non-Aryan languages like the Tamil and Telegu prevailed in the south.

Mahomedan Conquest of Northern India.—In the century following the death of Mahmud, Ghazni was destroyed by a prince of the new dynasty of Ghor. Ghyasuddin of this house became king of Ghor in 1157, and his brother, Shahbhiddan Muhammad Ghori, was the Moslem conqueror of Northern India.

In his first great encounter with the Hindus, Muhammad Ghori was not successful. He had made an expedition into India, and had taken the town of Bitunda, when he heard that Prithu Rai king of Delhi and Ajmir was marching towards that town with a large army. Muhammad Ghori returned to the relief of the town, and met the Hindu army at Tirouri on the Saraswati river. A great battle was fought, the Mahomedans were signally defeated, and Muhammad himself was wounded and with difficulty carried off by a faithful follower.

In 1193 Muhammad Ghori returned to India with a vast army of 120,000 horse, composed of Turks and Afghans, the bravest of his subjects. Prithu Rai too had received reinforcements from neighbouring Hindu princes, and waited with a large army on the scene of his former victory.

Muhammad attempted to surprise the Hindu army by crossing the stream before dawn and suddenly attacking the troops, but the Hindu cavalry kept the Moslems in check until the whole army fell into order. The battle raged the whole day, and at sunset Muhammad Ghori put himself at the head of 12,000 of his bravest horsemen, covered with steel armour, and dashed into the Hindu ranks. The Hindu force was thrown into disorder, and the "prodigious army," says Ferishta, "once shaken, like a great building tottered to its fall and was lost in its own ruins." Prithu Rai was captured and killed in cold blood.

Delhi and Ajmir were thus conquered in 1193. In the following year Muhammad Ghori returned to India, and defeated Jay Chandra, king of Kanouj and Benares. His former slave Kutb-ud-din, who was left as his deputy, conquered Gujrat; and his renowned lieutenant Bakhtiyar Khilji conquered Oudh, Behar, and Bengal by 1204.

Two years after this Muhammad Ghori was assassinated when he was encamped on the Indus, and Kutb-ud-din became the first independent Mahomedan king of Delhi and of Northern India.

CHAPTER VIII

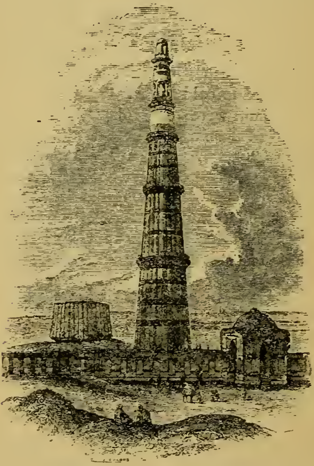
Age of the Afghan Rule, A.D. 1206 TO 1526

The Slave Dynasty, 1206 TO 1290.—Kutb-ud-din became the independent sovereign of Northern India in 1206, and as he was a slave in early life, the dynasty he founded is known as the Slave dynasty. He died in 1210, and his name is preserved by the magnificent Kutb-Minar, a lofty and tapering shaft of red sandstone encrusted with chapters from the Koran, which still towers over the ruins of old Delhi.

After the short reign of his eldest son Aram, Altamsh, who had been a slave under Kutb, ascended the throne and proved a vigorous ruler. It was during his administration

that the locust hordes of the Moghals swept over Asia and penetrated into Europe. The terrible Chengis Khan did not, however, cross the Indus, and India escaped the universal calamity for a time.

The Mahomedan rulers of Sindh and Bengal had assumed



KUTB-MINAR, DELHI.

independence, but Altamsh reduced them to subjection. The Hindus of Malwa still struggled for independence, but Altamsh reduced Gwalior and Ujjain, and demolished the famous temples and statues of that ancient capital of Vikramaditya. The empire of Altamsh was thus extended over the whole of Northern India before his death in 1236.

He was succeeded by his daughter Raziya Begam—the only female sovereign who ever sat on the Mahomedan throne of Delhi. She was learned, industrious, and energetic; but the favour she showed to an Abyssinian slave offended her generals and nobles, and she was deposed and put to death in 1239.

Two weak and worthless successors filled the throne of Delhi until 1246, when Nasir-ud-din, the youngest son of Altamsh, ascended the throne. The Moghals were now in possession of the fairest provinces on the Indus, and Nasir-ud-din's minister, Balban, went to the Punjab to protect that province. He also fought with the Hindu Rajas to the south of the Jumna, and once more brought Malwa under subjection, defeating the Rajputs at Mewat in a great battle.

Balban succeeded Nasir-ud-din, and ruled from 1265 to 1287. He was vigorous and prompt, but severe and merciless. The forests of Mewat were still full of the sturdy Jadun Rajputs, and Balban is said to have put 100,000 of them to the sword to bring the place under subjection. The Viceroy of Bengal who had failed to crush a rebellion was executed, and Balban himself proceeded to that province and suppressed the rising. On the western frontier the Moghals again invaded India, but were repelled by Balban's son, who died on the field. Balban died in 1287, and the short reign of a weak and dissolute successor closed the dynasty three years later.

Khilji Dynasty, 1290 TO 1320.—The empire of the Slave dynasty varied in its extent from time to time, according to the weakness or the vigour of the emperor; but under Altamsh and Balban it virtually extended over the whole of Northern India. The second or Khilji dynasty extended the Mahomedan empire into the Deccan.

Jalal-ud-din, the founder of the Khilji dynasty, still fought with the sturdy Hindus of Malwa. His nephew Ala-ud-din, the governor of Karra, plundered the Buddhist monastery of Bhilsa, pillaged Bundelkhund, and then conceived the great idea of penetrating into the Deccan. After

a march of 700 miles through the forests and mountains of the Vindhya range, he suddenly appeared before the Hindu town of Deogiri. He pillaged the town, defeated the Hindu army, and retired from the scene after levying a large ransom. Treacherous and ruthless as he was vigorous, Ala-ud-din invited his uncle the emperor to Karra, murdered the old man, and ascended the throne in 1295.

The Afghan power in India reached its zenith under Ala-ud-din Khilji. The Hindus had recovered their independence in Gujrat; but Karun Rai the Hindu king fled before Ala-ud-din's forces, and his wife the famous and beauteous Kamala Devi was taken into Ala-ud-din's harem. Anhalwara was taken, Cambay was plundered, and the whole of Gujrat was reconquered from the Hindus in 1297.

The Moghals again poured into India, but were defeated first at Lahore and then at the very gates of Delhi. A third invasion was beaten off in 1305.

Ala-ud-din made vigorous endeavours to crush the Rajputs who still maintained their independence in Rajputana, and were never brought under Mahomedan rule. He took Rintampur from the Jaipur Rajputs in 1300, and captured Chitor from the Sisodia Rajputs in 1303; and his general defeated the Raja of Malwa and reduced Ujjain, Mandu, Dhar, and Chanderi.

The conquest of the Deccan was, however, the most memorable event of Ala-ud-din's reign. His general Malik Kafur penetrated through Bengal into Warangal, the capital of the Hindu kingdom of Telingana, in 1303. Three years after the same general marched through Malwa into the Mahratta country, took Deogiri, and reduced the Hindu king Ram Deo to be a tributary under Delhi. Kafur penetrated into the Karnatic, and built a mosque on the extreme southern point of India.

But the design of the conquest of all India was not destined to succeed. Gujrat rose in rebellion, the Rajputs recovered Chitor, and Harpal Deo the son of Ram Deo stirred up the Deccan to arms and expelled the Mahomedan garrisons.

"On receiving these accounts," says Ferishta, "the king bit his own flesh in fury." His rage aggravated his illness, and he died in 1315.

The remaining five years of the rule of this dynasty were disfigured by crimes, cruelties, and vice, and the dynasty came to an end in 1320.

Tughlak Dynasty, 1320 TO 1414.—Ghiyas-ud-din the founder of this house was the son of a Turki slave by a Hindu mother of the Jat tribe. His son Juna Khan conquered Warangal, and the ruling dynasty of the Kakati Rajputs came to an end.

Juna Khan succeeded his father under the title of Muhammad in 1325. He was an accomplished and learned prince, studied astronomy, wrote poetry, and knew logic and Greek philosophy, but his eccentricities verged on madness. His reign was one long revolt of the provinces, and by the time of his death the greatness of the empire of Delhi had passed away.

Muhammad's mad scheme to conquer China by sending forces through the Himalayas ended in disaster. With a view to reconquer Southern India he twice dragged the population of Delhi across the Vindhyas to Deogiri, which he called Daulatabad, but the expeditions ended in famine and ruin. And in order to replenish his treasury he issued copper coins at a high imaginary value; but foreign merchants refused the currency, trade came to a standstill, and he had to receive back his depreciated coins in taxes. His exorbitant taxes and cruelties brought ruin and disaster.

The vast fabric of the Afghan empire in India broke to pieces under his rule. Bengal revolted, and was formed into an independent Mahomedan kingdom in 1340. Bukka Rai, the Hindu king of the Karnatic, built a new capital at Vijainagar, and founded the great kingdom known by that name in 1344. Hassan Gangu founded an independent Mahomedan kingdom in the Deccan in 1347, and his dynasty is known as the Bahmani dynasty. There were insurrections in Gujrat, Malwa, and Sindh; and while still

trying to quell these various insurrections Muhammad died in 1351.

It was during the reign of Mahmud, the last king of this dynasty, that the terrible Timur penetrated into India, captured Delhi, and massacred and pillaged the citizens in 1398. Laden with booty, he retired by way of Mirut and Hardwar, and then proceeded on his famous expedition against Bajazat.

Saiyad Dynasty, 1414 TO 1450.—Timur had appointed Saiyad Khizr Khan as governor of Multan and Lahore, and after the extinction of the Tughlak house, Khizr Khan and his three successors ruled for thirty-six years virtually as emperors of Delhi.

Lodi Dynasty, 1450 TO 1526.—Behlul Lodi then founded a new dynasty, and added the Punjab and Juanpur to Delhi. His son Sikandar reannexed Behar; but Sikandar's son Ibrahim was a weak and worthless prince. The eastern portions of the empire threw off the yoke of Delhi, and the governor of the Punjab invited the great Babar of Kabul to conquer India. Babar came and defeated the Indian army in the great battle of Panipat in 1526. Ibrahim was killed, and Babar occupied Delhi and Agra, and thus founded the Moghal empire in India.

Spread of Mahomedan Power.—The great political result of the three centuries of Afghan rule in India was the spread of the Mahomedan power over a great part of that continent. The conquests of vigorous rulers like Kutb-ud-din, Atamsh, and Balban spread that power over a great part of Northern India from the Indus to the Brahmaputra; and Ala-ud-din penetrated beyond the Vindhya Mountains, and established Moslem supremacy in the Deccan and the Mahratta country. And although from the middle of the fourteenth century the house of Delhi began to decline, it is necessary to remember that this decline did not in any way affect the ascendency of the Mahomedan power. On the contrary, as the dominion of Delhi was gradually contracted, independent Mahomedan kingdoms rose in the remote provinces; and the rise of these independent Mahomedan kingdoms

meant a further consolidation of the Mahomedan power in India.

Bengal became an independent Mahomedan kingdom in 1340, and retained its independence for over two centuries, until it was once more annexed to the empire of Delhi by Akbar the Great. The province of Gujrat in the west also became an independent Mahomedan kingdom in 1391, and remained independent until the time of Akbar. In Malwa the Rajputs had made repeated and determined efforts to maintain their independence, but had been crushed; and when the power of Delhi declined, Malwa became an independent Mahomedan kingdom. Sindh was an independent Mahomedan state; and even Juanpur, including the country of Benares, became an independent Mahomedan state in 1394.

In the Deccan and the Mahratta country also, an independent Mahomedan kingdom arose as the power of the house of Delhi disappeared. The great Bahmani dynasty founded its rule in the Deccan in 1347, and represented the central Mahomedan power in the south, as the house of Delhi was the central Mahomedan power in the north. After a prosperous rule of nearly a century and a half the dynasty declined in power, and its vast territories were formed into five separate states, viz. Ahmadnagar (1490), Bijapur (1489), Golconda (1512), Berar (1484), and Bidar (1492). But this disintegration of the Bahmani kingdom indicated the decline of that house, not of the Mohamedan power. On the contrary, the establishment of the smaller states spread and consolidated that power over the whole of the Deccan.

In Southern India, *i.e.* south of the Krishna river, the power of Hindu rulers was never effectually broken, and the Hindus retained their independence until the British conquest in the last century. The Hindu kingdom of Vijainagar, founded in 1344, was overthrown in 1565 by the combined Mahomedan rulers of the Deccan in the battle of Talikota, but local Hindu chiefs continued to rule in Southern India.

The ancient kingdom of Pandya, with its capital at Madura, boasts of a long list of Hindu kings and dynasties from the fourth century before Christ to the eighteenth century after Christ. The Chera kingdom boasts of fifty kings; and the great Cholas, who were at one time all-powerful in Southern India, enumerate sixty-six, besides collateral dynasties.

These facts will enable us to grasp the broad results of the Age of the Afghan rule in India. If our attention is not confined merely to the fortunes of the house of Delhi, we shall find that the three centuries of the Afghan rule meant the steady expansion of Mahomedan power in India. During the first century and a half this expansion was due to the vigour of the Delhi rulers, who broke the power of the Hindus not only on the Indus and the Ganges, but also in remote provinces like Gujrat and Malwa, Bengal and the Deccan. And during the last century and a half the Mahomedan expansion was due to the establishment of independent Mahomedan kingdoms in those places where the Hindu power had been broken and crushed. It was by this double process that the ascendency of the Mahomedan power was established in India.

There were, however, three well-defined zones in which the Hindus still retained their independence: (1) the sub-Himalayan States from Kashmir to Assam were protected from Mahomedan invasions by their great mountain barriers; (2) in the central zone of India, from Rajputana, through the wilds of Central India, to Orissa on the eastern sea, the Hindus maintained their independence by their valour, or by reason of the natural defences of the states; (3) Southern India, or India south of the Krishna river, remained independent under its Hindu chiefs or Nayaks, in consequence of its remoteness from Delhi, and even from the Deccan Mahomedan states.

Internal Administration.—Such are the broad political results of the Afghan rule of 320 years in India, from 1206 to 1526. But it is necessary to go below the surface of these political results, and to discover how they affected

the people; for the history of the people, and not of the royal dynasties, is the history of India. The wars and crimes of the Delhi kings often mislead the student of history, and give him an unfavourable idea of the Afghan rule in India. A sober and impartial examination of the condition of the people during this period dispels many misconceptions, and enables him to form a truer judgment and a juster estimate.

The great redeeming feature of the Afghan rule in India was that it did not disturb the internal administrative arrangements; it did not interfere with the people and their constituted authorities. In Bengal, the great mass of the agricultural population lived under their hereditary landlords or Zemindars, who were armed with powers to preserve the peace and punish crime, and the Afghan rulers were too wise or too indolent to interfere with this arrangement. Great slices of the country were carved out for Afghan Jaigirdars or military chiefs, but these men knew little of the fiscal arrangements of the country, and in most cases they were content to draw their revenues from the Zemindars, leaving the relations between the Zemindars and the people undisturbed. Mahomedan Kazis and Kotwals (judges and policemen) were appointed in large towns, but nine-tenths of the population lived in villages and saw little and knew little of these authorities, and the Mahomedan conquest of Bengal scarcely affected the conditions of their life. Agriculture prospered in Bengal, the rental continued to be the same as before the conquest of the Afghans, and the peaceful population of Bengal villages and towns were engaged in those prosperous industries which supplied the markets of Asia and of Europe with their manufactures and the product of their looms.

The economical condition of the villages in Northern India was different from that of Bengal. Instead of living under hereditary Zemindars, they lived under the village-community system. Each village was an organised unit, maintaining order in the village, adjudging all disputes, settling the distri-

bution of the arable land, and collecting and paying its quota of revenue to the State. Into this system of village self-government the Mahomedan rulers and governors did not consider it their interest to encroach. Dynasties succeeded dynasties on the throne of Delhi, wars swept by the fenced and defended villages, but the agriculturists continued their useful labour from century to century, little caring who sat on the throne of Delhi, or on the provincial *Musnud.* Occasionally if the countryside was harried by a foolish king or chief, the villagers sometimes left their homes with their women and children, property and plough cattle, and they returned and settled down in their homes when the storm was over. But such harassment of the agricultural people was neither frequent nor continuous, and throughout Northern India the hardy and industrious villagers were generally left alone by their restless and unquiet rulers, and plied their peaceful agricultural industry under their village-community system which was old even in the days of Manu. The follies and crimes of kings, which fill so large a space in historical works, did not generally touch the well-being of the masses; wars and dissensions among rival chiefs generally left them at peace; and acts of oppression affecting the agricultural population were not frequent, because they were not conducive to the interests of the rulers themselves.

One more redeeming feature of the Afghan rule was that although the rulers were divided from the mass of the people by their religion, they adopted India as their country and had no interests outside India. When Mahmud of Ghazni made his raids into India, he carried off the treasures of temples and palaces, as well as thousands of enslaved men and women from India, to enrich and populate his mountain home. The Afghan rulers from the time of Kutb-ud-din had no such object, and had no home outside India. India paid no tribute to a foreign country, and supported no foreign rulers. Her revenues were not spent outside her natural frontiers, and her trade and manufactures were not injuriously affected by the trade and manufactures of any foreign country. However

crude the notions of some of the emperors may have been, they generally understood that their own interests were identical with those of their subjects, and that their revenues proceeded from the prosperity of the peaceful and industrial people of India. Ferishta tells us, that the reign of Ala-ud-din, early in the fourteenth century, witnessed a general increase of wealth which manifested itself in private and public buildings throughout the empire. And towards the close of the same century the enlightened Firoz Shah constructed irrigation works, Sarais, hospitals, and bridges, and cut the great Jumna Canal which spread a margin of fertility on both sides of the river. Many others of the Afghan rulers promoted such works for the benefit of agriculture which conduced to the interest and glory of the ruling houses.

CHAPTER IX

Condition of the People under the Afghan Rule

Three Centuries of the Afghan Rule.—Comparisons are often instituted between the condition of the people of India and the people of Europe during different periods of modern history. Such a comparison would not be to the disadvantage of India for the three centuries of the Afghan rule in India corresponding to the Feudal Age in Europe—from the time of Frederick Barbarossa and Philip Augustus to that of Columbus and Martin Luther. The wars of India were less harassing, less frequent, and caused less misery to the people, than the wars which desolated every country in Western Europe. The oppression of Musalman governors and Jaigirdars was less hurtful to the industries and agriculture of India than the oppression of barons and feudal chiefs who dwelt in their castles and robbed villages and towns. Trade and manufactures flourished in India as they flourished nowhere in Europe except in Italy and the Netherlands; and the religious reforms and intellectual movements among the

people of India were carried on more peacefully, and with less persecution and cruel repression, than in Europe.

Religious Movements.—Indeed if we turn to the religious movements of the Hindus under the Afghan rule, we shall find how little the conquest of the throne of Delhi and of provincial thrones by the Musalmans really affected the peaceful avocations and pursuits, the thought and the life of the people. We have referred in a previous chapter to the hankering of the Hindu mind towards a personal God, which led to the special worship of Siva and Vishnu, and which was the cause of the rise of many sects all through India. From the tenth century downwards the sects worshipping Vishnu, or his incarnation Krishna, seem to have increased in number and influence, and much of the literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries bears the impress of Vaishnana influence.

Ramanuja. — Ramanuja, who flourished in Southern India in the twelfth century, is the first of a long line of the Vaishnana teachers of mediæval India. He proclaimed the unity of God under the name of Vishnu, and he proclaimed the love of God as the way to salvation. The king of the Cholas seemed to be inclined towards the faith of Siva, and Ramanuja had to fly from his territory to Mysore, and converted the ruler of that country to his faith and doctrine. He received converts from every class of people, and is said to have established seven hundred monasteries before his death. Buddhism was virtually extinct in India, but in this new form of Hinduism we find how much influence Buddhism had in modifying the ancient cult of Vedic rites and sacrifices to a cult for the masses.

Ramananda.—Fifth in the apostolic succession from Ramanuja was Ramananda, who in the thirteenth or fourteenth century spread his faith and doctrine in Northern India. He made Benares his headquarters, but travelled through India far and wide to preach the religion of One God under the title of Vishnu. Ramanuja had appealed to the higher castes and had written in the Sanscrit language.

Ramananda appealed to the people and preached in Hindi, the language of the people of Northern India. Religious movements have in India as elsewhere promoted literary culture and the development of languages, and the Hindi language was helped and enriched by the movement of Ramananda. Thus about the very time when the great Ala-ud-din was establishing the Musalman power in Northern India and the Deccan, we find a greater man than Ala-ud-din preaching the love of One God among the millions of Northern India, drawing closer the Hindus of all sects and all castes by his doctrine, and enriching the language and literature of Northern India by his life-work. The historian of India turns with a sense of relief from the annals of wars and political events to the silent work of such a man, affecting the lives and thoughts of millions of peaceful men and women engaged in trade, industries, and agriculture.

Kabir.—Kabir, a disciple of Ramananda, appealed to the Hindus and Mahomedans alike, and preached the purity of life and a perfect faith in God. The God of the Hindus, he said, was the same as the God of the Mahomedans, be he invoked as Rama or Ali. "What avails it to wash your mouth, count your beads, bathe in holy streams, and bow in temples, if, whilst you mutter your prayers or go on pilgrimages, deceitfulness is in your hearts?" "If the Creator dwells in tabernacles, whose dwelling is the universe?" "The city of the Hindu God is in the East (Benares), and the city of the Musalman God is in the West (Mecca), but search your hearts, and there you will find the God both of Hindus and Musalmans." Kabir's teachings, known as *Kabir Chaura*, are preserved in Benares, but his followers are numerous in the Deccan, Central India, and Gujrat.

Nanak.—Nanak preached the same popular monotheism in the Punjab; and the *Granth* of Nanak is well known, because the sect of the Sikhs he founded rose to political importance at a later period. Nanak was born in 1469, and he invited Hindus and Musalmans alike to become his followers and to worship the One God of the universe. For a long

time his followers were a peaceful sect, until the persecutions of the last emperors of Delhi turned them into the bravest military sect of modern India.

Chaitanya.—In Bengal the worship of Vishnu or Krishna inspired the earliest poetry and songs extant in the vernacular language, and Chaitanya, who was born in Nadiya in 1486, preached popular monotheism and the worship of One God under the name of Vishnu or Krishna. He, too, invited Musalmans as well as Hindus to join his sect, but his following was almost entirely Hindu. At the present day it comprises nearly the whole of the Hindu population of Bengal, excepting the higher castes, who are faithful to the cult of Siva, or rather his female counterpart, Sakti, Durga, or Kali.

Dadu.—Lastly Dadu, a religious reformer, who was born in Ahmadabad in 1544, left behind him a body of sacred poetry extending to 20,000 lines. Fifty disciples spread his teachings all through Rajputana.

Literary Movements—Southern India.—Literary culture went hand in hand with these religious movements all over India during the Age of the Afghan rule. Southern India boasts of four literary languages, viz. the Tamil and the Telegu, the Kanarese and the Malayalam; but among these the Tamil is the best known for its ancient literature. Buddhism found a convenient vehicle in the language of Southern India as of Northern India, and there is a great body of Buddhist or Jaina literature in Tamil dating from the ninth to the thirteenth century. The *Chintamani*, a romantic epic of 15,000 lines by an unknown poet, is the best specimen of this class. When the worship of Siva and Vishnu slowly supplanted Buddhism in the south, literature reflected the change. The *Ramayana* was adapted into the Tamil language about A.D. 1100; a vast number of Hymns to Siva were composed between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, and a Great Book of four thousand Hymns to Vishnu also grew up in the same age.

To Southern India also belongs the credit of having produced the most renowned Sanscrit scholar and commentator of

the Middle Ages, or the Age of the Afghan Rule as we have called the period. Sayana or Madhava, the minister of the founder of the Hindu kingdom of Vijainagar (1344), compiled his renowned commentaries on the Vedas and other sacred works, which have handed down to modern India the traditional interpretation of the past, and are still considered authoritative all over India. No single work composed in India within the last thousand years has done so much to preserve and hand down to the modern Hindus the ancient learning of their fathers as the renowned commentaries of Sayana. Foremost in inaugurating modern religious reforms, foremost in the production of modern literatures, Southern India also stands foremost in the great work of preserving and interpreting to us our ancient and sacred literature.

Northern India.—Hindi is the vernacular of Northern India, and Hindi literature begins with the epic of Chand, the contemporary of the last Hindu king of Delhi. The religious movements of Ramananda and Kabir followed, and led to the formation of a vast mass of sacred Hindi literature. Rajputana boasts of heroic ballads and poetry connected with the martial deeds of its feudal chiefs.

The Deccan.—In the Deccan the earliest Mahratta poets, dating from the thirteenth century, were all religious poets, and were no doubt inspired by those religious movements which affected the whole of India. The character of the poetry is much the same as in other parts of India.

Bengal.—In Bengal, too, the earliest poets who wrote in the vernacular, and whose compositions are extant, wrote on Krishna and his loves, allegorically representing the love of a personal Deity for all beings. Jayadeva had set the example in the twelfth century by his immortal Sanscrit lyric, the *Gita Govinda;* and in the fourteenth century Bidyapati of Behar and Chandidas of Bengal followed in his footsteps, and composed touching songs which are still sung and read by their countrymen. The following metrical translation of one of the songs of Chandidas, the earliest poet of Bengal whose compositions are extant in the ver-

nacular language, will indicate how the idea of the love and faith of all living beings for the Deity is thinly disguised in the love of a woman for her lover. Radha speaks with all the passionate love of a woman, all the fervent faith of a worshipper :—

O ! how can words my thoughts portray,
  The longing and the inward strife?
In life, in death, in after-births,
  Be thou the Master of my Life!
For to thy feet my heart is tied,
  Thy mercy and thy love I crave,
I offer all, my life and soul,
  To be thy worshipper and slave!
And I have questioned if on earth,
  In nether-world, in upper sky,
Is there a true and tender soul,
  Regards me with a pitying eye?
Who names my name in loving voice,
  In nether-world, earth, or sky,
To whom will Radha turn for aid,
  To whom, O Krishna ! save to thee?
On either bank of stream of life,
  In Gokul and in skies above,
Thy lotus feet alone can save,
  And to those feet I turn in love!
Reject me not, for I am weak,
  O ! do not turn thy face away,
For, save the Master of my Life,
  Poor Radha has no other way !
If for a moment thee I miss,
  A still and death-like trance I own,—
Hold fast to Krishna, sings the bard,
  And wear him like a precious stone!

In the fifteenth century the great Sanscrit epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Maha-bharata*, were condensed into Bengali verse, and these translations have appealed to the million in all succeeding time. And the religious reformer Chaitanya, who preached the faith of Vishnu early in the sixteenth century, gave a further impetus to the culture of Bengali literature.

Thus, under the rule of the Afghan emperors we see an activity in thought and action as varied and as many-sided as life itself. The deeds of emperors and military commanders seem to us of small importance when placed by the

side of those living currents of thought and religion and literature, of agriculture, trade, and varied industries, which occupied the nation. The impression that we receive from a careful survey of all these facts is not of a country constantly desolated by war and tyranny, but of a nation which, under its wise or foolish kings, peaceably pursued its agricultural industry, prospered in trade and manufacture, cultivated poetry and arts, and dared to think for itself and to struggle for religious reform.

Foreign Travellers in the Fifteenth Century.—The testimony of foreign travellers who visited India during this age confirms the impression. Not many of them have left records of their travels, and much of what is left concerns the strange customs and manners, the temples and images, the religious rites and celebrations, of what was then considered the land of marvels. But, nevertheless, their accounts of the country, and occasionally of towns and industries, throw some light on the condition of the people.

Nicolo Conti.—One of the earliest European travellers to India who has left records of his travels was Nicolo Conti, a Venetian. He visited India early in the fifteenth century, and Vijainagar, then the Hindu capital of Southern India, struck him by its wealth and grandeur. He describes the city as sixty miles in circuit, and containing a hundred thousand men able to bear arms. Conti subsequently visited Bengal, and was pleased with its richness and beauty. He came to a city which he calls Cernovem (Savarnagram in East Bengal), where the river was said to be thirteen miles broad (probably in the rainy season). The banks were covered with cities and beautiful gardens. He ascended the Ganges till he came to a famous and powerful city which he calls Maurazia (Monghyr), abounding in gold, silver, and pearls.

Abdul Rizak.—A Mahomedan traveller, who visited India in the middle of the fifteenth century, has also left some interesting accounts. Shah Rokh, the successor of Timur on the throne of Persia, sent Abdul Rizak to India, desiring him to report on the coasts and the country. Abdul Rizak,

like Conti, is eloquent in his description of Vijainagar. The city was surrounded by seven walls, forming the same number of enclosures within each other. Two of the outer enclosures contained fields and gardens, but the four inner ones consisted of houses, shops, and palaces. Around the king's palace were four extensive bazaars, on the right of the palace was a great council hall supported by forty columns, and on the left was the treasury. At Calicut Abdul Rizak witnessed a great festival, at which a thousand elephants were collected by the prince.

Barthema.—Similar accounts are left to us by Barthema, who visited India about the close of the fifteenth century. At Cambay in Gujrat he came across the Jains, who lived there in large numbers. They were men, says the traveller, who ate nothing that had blood, and killed nothing that had life; who were neither Moslems nor Hindus, and would be saved if they were baptized, on account of the many good works they performed. The king of Vijainagar appeared to the traveller the greatest monarch that he had ever heard of, and his capital had the finest air and the most beautiful situation that was ever seen. Calicut was a cosmopolitan port, containing people from Arabia, Egypt, Persia, India, Burma, Sumatra, and the Indian islands, and its trade was in the hands of the Moslems, who numbered fifteen thousand. Barthema also visited the east coast of India and Bengal, and then sailed for Burma, Sumatra, and Borneo.

CHAPTER X

Age of the Moghal Rule, 1526 TO 1707

***Babar*, 1526 TO 1530.**—Babar, the sixth in descent from the great Tartar conqueror Timur, was born in 1482, and was after various adventures expelled from Ferghana and Samarkhand, and seized the kingdom of Kabul in 1504. Twenty-two years after this he won the first battle of Panipat, and conquered from the Afghans the throne of Delhi.

The Rajputs, proud of their unconquered independence, were now his great rivals, and Rana Sanga of Mewar advanced with a great army to contest the throne of Delhi. The Rajputs, however, were defeated in the great battle of Fatehpur Sikri, and Babar took the forts of Chanderi and Rintamber. He also subjugated Behar before he died in 1530.

Humayun and the Sur Dynasty, 1530 TO 1556.—On the death of Babar, his son Humayun succeeded him in India, while Humayun's brother Kamran ascended the throne of Kabul, and India and Kabul thus became separate kingdoms at the very commencement of the Moghal rule.

Humayun had a chequered career. He attempted to conquer Gujrat from Bahadur Shah, and Juanpar and Behar from Sher Khan. He was defeated by the latter in 1539 and 1540, and was compelled to leave Delhi and seek for shelter in the court of Persia. It was during this trying and unfortunate journey out of India that his queen gave birth to the great Akbar in 1542.

Sher Khan thus became emperor in 1540 under the title of Sher Shah, founded the Sur dynasty, and thus once more brought Northern India under the Afghan rule for a time. He conquered the Punjab from Kamran, suppressed a rebellion in Bengal, and subjugated Malwa. He also defeated the Marwar Rajputs, took Chitor from the Mewar Rajputs, and died in 1545. He was a strong and able ruler, introduced great reforms in the civil government, and constructed the Grand Trunk Road from Bengal to the Punjab, which remains to this day a monument of his far-sighted wisdom.

Sher Shah's line held the throne for eleven years more but gradually declined in power, and the provinces, including the Punjab, Malwa, and Delhi, revolted. Humayun saw his opportunity and re-entered Hindustan; and his gallant boy Akbar, with the general Bairam in command, defeated the Afghan army in the second battle of Panipat in 1556. India was thus reconquered by the Moghals, and Humayun dying shortly after, young Akbar succeeded in the same year.

Akbar the Great, 1556 TO 1605.—Akbar was the real builder of the Moghal empire in India. He was the greatest sovereign of India since the time of Vikramaditya of Ujjain, who preceded him by a thousand years. He was the contemporary of some of the greatest monarchs of Europe—Henry IV. of France, Queen Elizabeth of England, and Philip II. of Spain. And he has had no successor in India up to the present day who has equalled him in all the virtues of a great and gifted ruler — military genius and courage and determination in the field, benevolence and trust in the people in civil administration, a broad-minded sympathy and a genuine confidence in them which evoked gratitude and fidelity and unfaltering support. Military prowess and victories in the field are poor claims to the title of greatness compared to that loftiness of soul, that capacity to trust and to evoke trust, that generous and catholic sympathy, which enabled Akbar to weld a great and durable empire out of the poor fragments of military conquests left to him by his father and his grandfather.

Within four years after succeeding to the throne Akbar had freed himself of his tutelage under Bairam, and assumed the direct management of affairs. Bairam Khan revolted and was defeated, and died shortly after.

Between 1560 and 1567 Akbar was constantly engaged in quelling disorders and in settling the country. He suppressed the rebellions of his own generals in Malwa, Oudh, and Allahabad; he subjugated Behar, repelled the invasion of the Punjab by his brother Hakim, and extended his conquests to Gondwana in the south. A strange romance hangs over the conquest of Gondwana, which was then ruled by Dargavati, a Hindu princess, and one of the most wonderful characters in Indian history. She was an able administrator and delighted in manly sports and manly exercises. Ruins of a hill fort which she defended against Akbar's forces are still pointed out near Jubbulpur, and her name is still remembered in the Central Provinces.

The great Rajput chiefs were won over by a policy of

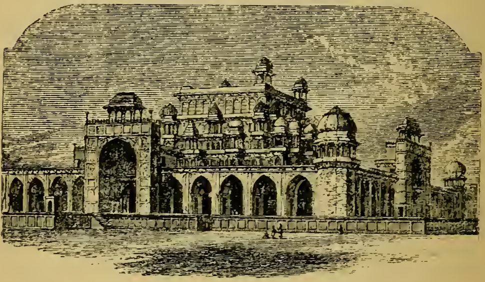
conciliation and trust. The Raja of Jaipur gave his daughter in marriage with Akbar. The Raja of Jodhpur gave his granddaughter to the son of Akbar. The chiefs of Jaipur and Jodhpur were treated with high honour and placed in high commands, and were among the most faithful supporters of the throne. The Mewar Rajputs, however, rejected all alliance with a Mahomedan house, and the heroic Pratap Sinh retreated to the mountains after the capture of Chitor by Akbar, and remained unconquered until his death. After his death the Mewar Rajputs founded a new capital at Udaipur which is at the present day one of the loveliest cities in India.

With the help of his Rajput friends and supporters Akbar reduced the independent Mahomedan kingdoms of Northern India. Gujrat was conquered in 1572–73 with the help of Raja Bhagwan Singh of Jaipur and his adopted son, the celebrated Man Singh. Bengal was once more united to the empire in 1576–80 by Akbar's Hindu general, Todar Mall. Kabul came under the rule of Akbar on the death of his brother Hakim, and Raja Man Singh, the most powerful of Akbar's generals, was sent as governor of that place. And lastly, the ancient Hindu kingdom of Kashmir, which had maintained its independence behind its strong mountain barrier, was at last brought under Mahomedan rule in 1586. Sindh was conquered in 1592, Kandahar fell into Akbar's hands in 1594; and thus his great empire, won by vigour, and consolidated by a policy of wisdom, conciliation, and trust, extended from the Brahmaputra to the mountains of Kabul and Kandahar.

But Akbar not only built up and consolidated the Moghal power in Northern India, he extended that power to the Deccan. For a long time Chand Sultana, the Queen-Regent of Ahmadnagar and a heroic character in Indian history, defended the independence of that state. Akbar, now an old man of fifty-seven, personally led his army in 1599, the heroic Chand Sultana was killed by her mutinous troops, and Ahmadnagar was taken. But the state was not finally subjugated till the reign of Shah Jehan; Akbar's real conquests in

the Deccan were virtually limited to Khandesh. He died in 1605.

Akbar's Civil Administration.—The greatness of the sovereign who built up the Moghal empire in India is



AKBAR'S TOMB AT SEKANDRA.

manifest in his system of civil administration. He divided his great and populous empire into fifteen Subahs or provinces, viz. Delhi, Agra, Kabul, Lahore, Multan, Gujrat, Malwa, Ajmir, Oudh, Allahabad, Behar, Bengal, Khandesh, Berar, and Ahmadnagar. A Viceroy was appointed in each province, and under him were the Diwan or revenue-officer and the Foujdar or military commander. Kazis or law officers, and Kotwals or police-officers, were appointed in towns for the administration of justice and the maintenance of order; but in the interior of the country the affairs of the people were happily left to their own ancient institutions, the village communities in Northern India, and the constituted authority of Zemindars in Bengal. All through the five centuries of the Mahomedan rule in India, from 1206 to 1707, the self-governing institutions of the people were left un-

touched. And they answered their purpose in keeping order in the country, in settling disputes and disturbances, in punishing crimes and offences, and in protecting the lives and property of the people. More than this, they served as a screen between the people and the rapacity of the rulers; and the follies and cruelties of emperors and viceroys, of which we hear so much in history, did not touch the lives of the peaceful agricultural and industrial population of India, living under the shelter of their time-honoured institutions.

The one imperial measure which touched the lives of the million was the land revenue system. The Hindu general Todar Mall was also Akbar's Finance Minister, and was the greatest financier that India has known in modern times. A survey of the vast empire was made, land was measured, the produce of every acre was settled, and the Government demand was fixed at one-third of the estimated gross produce. This demand is double the rate sanctioned by the Hindu laws; but it should be remembered that Akbar's demand was meant to be an ideal demand, and could never have been strictly enforced from year to year. The estimated land revenue in Northern India, *i.e.* excluding Kabul and the Deccan, was about a hundred million rupees, or ten million pounds sterling.

Jahangir, 1605 TO 1627.—Jahangir, who succeeded his father, was a weak prince without his father's great abilities; and for a long time his celebrated Queen, Nur Jahan, ruled the empire. Nur Jahan was the daughter of a Persian, and as a girl often used to come to Akbar's harem with her mother. Jahangir saw her and was attracted by her beauty, but Akbar refused his consent to his offer to marry her, and the girl was married to one Sher Afghan who was sent away to Bengal, where a jaigir was bestowed on him. When Jahangir became emperor he still remembered the girl who had fascinated him in his youth. Sher Afghan was killed, and Nur Jahan was taken to Delhi where after a time Jahangir married her in 1611.

In Mewar the heroic Pratap Sinh was dead, and his son

nominally submitted to the new emperor. In the Deccan, Ahmadnagar shook off the Moghal yoke, and became once more free under Malik Ambar. In the west, Kandahar was conquered from Jahangir's troops by the Persians.

The assumption of all powers by Queen Nur Jahan created a strong opposition; the emperor's son and his general Mahabat Khan rose against him, and in the midst of troubles and wars the emperor died in 1627. Sir Thomas Roe, an English ambassador, visited Jahangir's court in 1615.

Shah Jahan, 1627 TO 1658.—Jahangir's eldest son hurried from the Deccan, and proclaimed himself emperor in 1628; and he made his throne safe by the inhuman murder of his brother and all members of the house of Akbar who could possibly aspire to it.

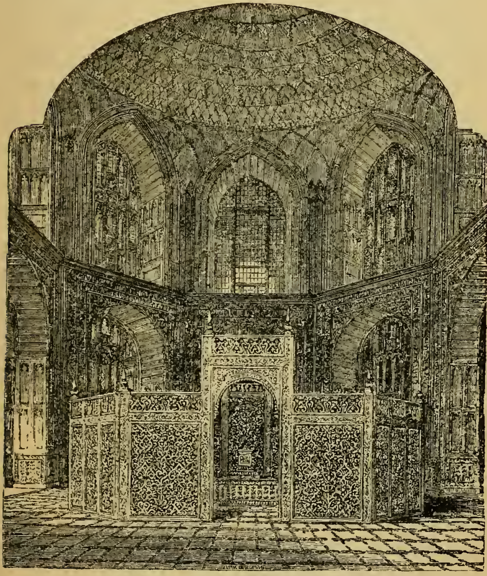
Shah Jahan's reign is marked by one loss and one important addition to the Moghal empire. Kandahar and a great part of the Kabul territory were finally lost to India. On the other hand, the state of Ahmadnagar was now finally added, and the other two Mahomedan states in the Deccan, Bijapur and Golconda, were forced to pay tribute to Delhi.

Mahomedan architecture in India reached its zenith in the reign of Shah Jahan. The *Jumma Masjid* and the *Diwan-i-Khas* of Delhi, and the *Moti Masjid* and the *Taj Mahal* of Agra, are like dreams in marble, and strike every modern traveller with admiration.

The cruelty and crime by which Shah Jahan had cleared his way to the throne brought their punishment in his old age. His four sons rebelled against him, and the youngest and ablest of them, Aurangzeb, deposed him, and ascended the throne in 1658. Aurangzeb then executed two of his brothers, and the third died miserably, a fugitive in Arracan.

Aurangzeb, 1658 TO 1707.—The Moghal attacks on the independence of the southern Mahomedan states, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golconda, were acts of doubtful wisdom. Those states upheld the Mahomedan power in the south, and the weakening of those states weakened the Maho-

medan rule, which could not be upheld in the Deccan from Delhi. The Mahrattas rose in power as the Mahomedan states declined.



INTERIOR OF TAJ MAHAL, AGRA.

The name of Sivaji stands highest among the great Hindu names of modern times as the name of Akbar stands highest among the Mahomedan. Akbar built up the Moghal empire

in the sixteenth century; Sivaji built up the Mahratta empire in the seventeenth. At an early age, Sivaji took advantage of the weakness of the southern Mahomedan states to carry on his plundering expeditions far and wide. He took a large number of hill forts, carried on a desultory war with Bijapur, and at last concluded a treaty with that state in 1662, by which he was left in possession of the entire territory from Puna to the Krishna river. In the next year he took Puna from Aurangzeb's general, and in 1664 he openly asserted his independence, and assumed the title of Raja.

Aurangzeb now had recourse to his Hindu generals. He first sent Jaswant Sinh of Jodhpur, and then the abler Jai Sinh of Jaipur, against the Mahratta chief. Sivaji was unable to resist the imperial general. He submitted to Jai Sinh, giving up some of his territory and consenting to retain the others as a *jaigir* from the emperor. He was even induced to visit Delhi, and a generous treatment on this occasion would have secured him as a friend of the Moghal throne for life. The faithless Aurangzeb imprisoned him, but the deep-witted Mahratta escaped, and returned to his country in 1666, breathing vengeance against the Moghal power.

Jai Sinh died on his way to Delhi. Jaswant Sinh could effect nothing, and made a treaty with Sivaji acknowledging him as Raja. Mahabat Khan, who was then sent with 40,000 troops by Aurangzeb, was not more successful, and a large Moghal force was defeated by Sivaji in battle. In 1674 Sivaji again crowned himself as independent king.

In the following year Sivaji crossed the Narbada, and for the first time carried his ravages north of that river. In 1676 he crossed the Krishna to the south, and passed close by Madras, where the English were about to build a fort called Fort St. David. Sivaji's vast territory extended from the Narbada in the north to beyond the Krishna in the south, and he died in the height of his power and glory in 1680. Within the period of a lifetime he had raised the Mahrattas to the rank of a great political power in India.

Aurangzeb's bigotry and intolerance completed the ruin

of the Moghal empire. He forbade all ostentatious display of Hindu worship, prohibited Hindu religious fairs, and destroyed many famous Hindu temples. He imposed a tax called *jiziya* on all non-Musalmans, and passed a senseless law that no Hindu should ride a litter or an Arab horse without permission. He commenced a cruel war against the Rajputs on trivial grounds, and for ever alienated that faithful nation from the house of Delhi by devastating their territory, burning their villages, cutting down fruit-trees, and carrying away their women and children. After the death of Sivaji he crossed the Narbada for the conquest of the Deccan.

As the Mahrattas were now a great political power, it would have been wise in Aurangzeb to have left alone, and even strengthened, the feudatory Mahomedan states of Bijapur and Golconda. But the ungenerous and narrow mind of Aurangzeb was incapable of such a wise policy, he hankered to demolish and level down every semblance of authority except his own. He took Bijapur in 1686, and Golconda in 1687, and thus the last remains of the independent Bahmani kingdom, founded in 1347, came to an end in the Deccan after 440 years.

Aurangzeb now turned all his resources to crush the Mahrattas, and failed. The Mahrattas avoided a pitched battle, and their fleet horsemen spread on every side and swept over the Deccan, while Aurangzeb was fruitlessly besieging obscure forts. "By hard fighting," says the Mahomedan historian, Khafi Khan, "by the expenditure of the vast treasure accumulated by Shah Jahan, and by the sacrifice of many thousands of men, he (Aurangzeb) had penetrated into their wretched country, had subdued their lofty forts, and had driven them from house and home; still the daring of the Mahrattas increased, and they penetrated into the old territories of the imperial throne, plundering and destroying wherever they went."

Enfeebled and exhausted by this system of warfare for nearly twenty years against an intangible foe, the grand army of Aurangzeb, which had invaded the Deccan with an osten-

tatious display of wealth and prowess never seen before in the south, retreated in disgrace and disorder amidst the shouts and insults and incessant firing of the Mahrattas who pressed behind. Aurangzeb at last reached Ahmadnagar and died in 1707, amidst the ruin of a great empire caused by his intolerance and his bigotry within the period of his own lifetime.

The character of Akbar the Great who built up the Moghal empire has often been contrasted with that of Aurangzeb who ruined it, and the study is not profitless. Both Akbar and Aurangzeb possessed extraordinary qualities which command the admiration of men. Both were distinguished for bravery in war, for determination of purpose, for celerity and vigour of action. Both possessed diligence and a capacity for work which astonished their contemporaries. Both were endowed with a rare intelligence, a strong judgment, and a keen insight into human character. But to these qualities Akbar added a large-hearted sympathy, a wise toleration, a generous trust and confidence in his subjects, which helped him to found and weld together a great empire out of poor fragments. Aurangzeb, on the other hand, was distinguished by a cold duplicity, a deep-seated distrust of all men, an intolerant, ungenerous and unsympathetic policy towards his subjects, which first alienated the Rajputs, then demolished the Mahomedan states of the Deccan, and ultimately wrecked the great empire which his great-grandfather had built up.

CHAPTER XI

Condition of the People under the Moghal Rule

Of all the valuable records which have been left to us of Akbar's enlightened administration in India, the most valuable is the *Ain-i-Akbari*,[1] a descriptive and statistical account of

[1] Translated from the Persian by Professor Blochman and Colonel Jarrett, and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I have relied on this scholarly and accurate translation, and not on Mr. Gladwin's older version.


AKBAR'S EMPIRE
15 PROVINCES
together with
KASHMIR, SINDH & KANDAHAR
A.D. 1580 – 1600
KABUL
KASHMIR
LAHOR
KANDAHAR
MULTAN
SINDH
DEHLI
AJMIR
AGRA
OUDH
ALLAHABAD
BEHAR
BENGAL
MALWA
GUJRAT
KHANDESH
BERAR
AHMEDNAGAR

his great empire. The work begins with an account of the emperor's household, and gives us valuable information about the various industries and occupations of the people. The most valuable portion of the work, however, is the statistical account of the fifteen Subahs into which the empire was divided (before Kashmir, Sindh, and Kandahar were conquered and included in it), and it gives us a general idea of the condition of the people in the sixteenth century.

Of the fifteen Subahs or provinces into which the empire was divided, Kabul was outside the natural frontiers of India, while Khandesh, Berar, and Ahmadnagar were but imperfectly conquered. The remaining eleven Subahs comprised virtually the whole of Northern India, and the following account of these eleven Subahs is condensed from the *Ain-i-Akbari.*

The Subah of Bengal had twenty-four Sarkars or districts. The revenue was rupees 14,961,482, or nearly a million and a half pounds sterling. The Zemindars were mostly Kayasths by caste. The provincial troops, a sort of militia under the jaigirdars and zemindars, were 23,330 cavalry and 801,150 infantry, besides elephants, guns, and boats. The Sarkar of Ghoraghat (modern Dinajpur and Rangpur) produced silk. The Sarkar of Sonargaon (modern Dacca) produced fine muslin. Chittagong was an excellent port, and was the resort of Christian merchants. The Sarkar of Satgaon (modern Hugli) had two ports resorted to by Europeans. Cuttack had a stone fort, Puri boasted of the great temple of Jagannath, and Balasore and Jalasore were important places in Orissa. Rice was the staple food of the people in the Subah of Bengal, and harvests were abundant.

The Subah of Behar had seven Sarkars or districts. The revenue was rupees 5,547,985, or a little over half a million pounds sterling. The militia was 11,415 cavalry and 449,350 infantry, besides boats. Agriculture flourished in a high degree, especially the cultivation of rice. Pulse was eaten by the poor; sugar-cane was abundant. Patna was an important city. Rajgar had a quarry of stone resembling marble. Monghyr was defended by a strong stone wall from the Ganges to the hills. In Champaran vetches grew without ploughing. Tirhut was an ancient place of Hindu learning, and Rohtas was an impregnable hill fort.

The Subah of Allahabad had ten Sarkars or districts. The revenue was rupees 5,310,695, or over half a million pounds sterling. The local militia was 11,375 cavalry and 237,870 infantry, besides elephants. Allahabad was a sacred place of pilgrimage, and Benares was a large city and the most sacred town of the Hindus and the chief seat of Hindu learning. Juanpur was a large city, and Kalinjar was an ancient

Hindu hill fort. Agriculture flourished in the Subah; beautiful cloths were woven at Benares, and carpets at Juanpur.

The Subah of Oudh had five Sarkars or districts. Its revenue was rupees 5,043,954, or about half a million pounds sterling. The local militia was 7640 cavalry and 168,250 infantry, besides elephants. Agriculture flourished, and rice was grown. Oudh was one of the largest cities of India, and the ancient capital of the hero of the *Ramayana*. Baraich was a large town, with a mint for copper coinage in its vicinity. The people of the Himalayan regions descended to the plains with their merchandise of gold, copper, lead, musk, honey, ginger, woollen stuffs, hawks and falcons, carrying them on the backs of men and ponies and goats, and exchanged them for cloths, salt, ornaments, glass and earthenware of the plains. Luknow was a large town amidst delightful surroundings.

The Subah of Agra had thirteen Sarkars or districts. The revenue was rupees 13,656,257, or somewhat under a million and a half pounds sterling. The militia was 50,681 cavalry and 577,570 infantry, besides elephants. The climate was good, agriculture flourished, fruits and flowers, melons and grapes were abundant. Agra was the capital of Akbar's empire. "His Majesty has built a fort of red stone, the like of which travellers have never recorded. It contains more than five hundred buildings of masonry, after the beautiful designs of Bengal and Gujrat, which masterly sculptors and cunning artists of form have fashioned as architectural models." Palaces were also built by Akbar at Sikri, and in both the places carpets and fine stuffs were woven, and numerous handicraftsmen had constant occupation. Fine big mangoes grew in the vicinity, sugar of extreme whiteness was manufactured, and indigo of the finest quality was obtained. Mathura was a sacred place of the Hindus and contained fine temples; while Kanouj was an ancient Hindu capital. Gwalior was an impregnable hill fort, Alwar produced glass and woollen carpets, and Perath and other places had copper-mines.

The Subah of Delhi contained eight Sarkars or districts. The revenue was rupees 15,040,388, or about a million and a half pounds sterling. The militia force was 31,490 cavalry and 242,310 infantry. Much of the land of the Subah was liable to inundation. The harvests were good, and the fruits of "Iran, Turan, and Hindustan" were grown here. Delhi was a place of great antiquity, and for a long time the capital of the Mahomedan emperors. There were mines of gold, silver, iron, and copper in Kumaon, as well as musk-deer and the yak-cow, hawks and falcons, silk and honey. Hisar was founded by the Emperor Firoz, who brought the waters of the Jumna to it by a cutting. Sarhind was a place of note, and Thaneswar was an ancient Hindu place of sanctity, close by the field of Kuru-Kshetra where the war of the *Maha-bharata* is said to have been fought.

The Subah of Lahore had five Doabs or tracts of country between the rivers. The revenue was rupees 13,986,460, or under a million and a half pounds sterling. The militia force was 54,480 cavalry and 426,086 infantry. The province was populous and fertile, and the irrigation was chiefly from wells. The winter was severer than in any other part of

India. The handicraftsmen were skilful, and gold and silver were obtained by washing the soil in some places. Lahore was a large city, and was strengthened by Akbar by fortifications, and beautified by surrounding gardens. Nagarkot was a fort and a Hindu place of pilgrimage. Rock-salt was found in the Tila range.

The Subah of Multan had a revenue of rupees 3,785,090, or less than four hundred thousand pounds sterling. The militia consisted of 18,785 cavalry and 165,658 infantry. The climate was like that of Lahore Subah, but the rainfall was less, and the heat excessive. Multan was an ancient city, and had a brick fort; and Bhakkar had another fortress. From Bhakkar stretched the vast desert over which the simoom blew during the three months of the hot weather. The Indus changed its channel from time to time, and cultivation and villages followed its course.

The Subah of Ajmir had seven Sarkars or districts. The revenue was rupees 7,210,039, or nearly three-quarters of a million pounds sterling. The militia force was 86,500 cavalry and 347,000 infantry. The soil was sandy, water was obtainable at great depth, and the crops were dependent on rain. Jawar was the most abundant crop, and the people dwelt in tent-shaped bamboo huts. The Subah was formed of the Rajput States of Mewar, Marwar, and Harowte (Kota and Bundi), which were virtually under their own Rajput chiefs, who owned allegiance to Akbar.

The Subah of Gujrat had nine Sarkars or districts. The revenue was rupees 10,920,557, or over a million pounds sterling. The local militia was 12,440 cavalry and 61,100 infantry. The soil was sandy, and Jawar and Bajra were the principal food of the people. Wheat was imported from Ajmir and Malwa, and rice from the Deccan. From the seaport of Pattan to Baroda the country was full of mango-groves, yielding excellent fruit. Figs and musk-melons, fruits and flowers grew in plenty. Painters, engravers, and other handicraftsmen were numerous. They inlaid mother-of-pearl with skill, produced stuffs worked with gold thread, and velvets and brocades, and also imitated stuffs from Persia, Turkey, and Europe. They also forged excellent swords and daggers and arrows, and carried on a brisk trade in jewellery and silver. Ahmadabad, the capital of the province at the time of Akbar, was a noble and prosperous city with two forts and a thousand mosques. Cambay was a flourishing seaport with fine buildings, frequented by merchants of many nations. Jhalwar was formerly a separate principality, and was inhabited by the Jhala Rajputs. Pattan exported fine cotton cloths. Champanir was a historic hill fort and abounded in fruits. Surat was a celebrated seaport near the mouths of the Tapti, and the Parsees settled in this district. "Through the wide tolerance of his Majesty every sect enjoys freedom. Through the negligence of ministers of State and the commanders of frontier provinces, many of these Sarkars are in the possession of European nations."

The Subah of Malwa had twelve Sarkars or districts. The revenue was rupees 6,017,376, or over half a million pounds sterling. The militia was 29,668 cavalry and 470,361 infantry, besides elephants. The

elevation of the province was somewhat above that of the other provinces, and the climate temperate. Willow grew wild on the banks of rivers, and hyacinths and flowers of many hues in the shade of trees. Lakes and green meads were frequent, and stately palaces and fair country homes "breathe tales of fairyland." Both the harvests were abundant, and the country grew wheat, poppy, sugar-cane, mangoes, melons, and grapes. Cloth of the finest texture was woven. Ujjain was a large and ancient city, and regarded as a sacred place by the Hindus, and there were 360 Hindu temples in the neighbourhood. Chanderi had a stone fort and 14,000 stone houses. Dhar was the ancient capital of Bhoja.

Land Revenue of Northern India.—The above brief account gives us a fair idea of the condition of Northern India under the enlightened rule of Akbar. The land revenue of the eleven provinces of Northern India was estimated at one-third of the produce; but this ideal rate was not strictly enforced, and in some provinces, we are told, no measurement of the land was made. The total estimated land revenue of Akbar's eleven Subahs of Northern India was approximately ten million pounds sterling.[1]

Jaigirdars and Zemindars.—The entire land of the country belonged, in theory, to the sovereign, and the emperor

	Rupees
[1] Bengal	14,961,482
Behar	5,547,985
Allahabad	5,310,695
Oudh	5,043,954
Agra	13,656,257
Delhi	15,040,388
Lahore	13,986,460
Multan	3,785,090
Ajmir	7,210,039
Gujrat	10,920,557
Malwa	6,017,376
	101,480,283

Of these eleven Subahs, the first eight roughly correspond with the provinces of Bengal, North-West, Oudh, and the Punjab, as now constituted under the British rule. The estimated land revenue of these eight Subahs about 1580 was rupees 77,332,311, while the land revenue actually realised in 1895-96 from the four British provinces roughly corresponding to them in area was rupees 124,797,780. It will appear from these figures that Akbar's land assessment was moderate compared with the assessment of the soil at the present time.

could parcel out fiefs or Jaigirs to his meritorious officers or to favourites. Military and civil officers were often remunerated by such Jaigirs instead of pay ; but as the Jaigirs were inherited from father to son, the creation of every Jaigir was a permanent loss of land revenue to the state. Akbar set his face against the creation of Jaigirs, and adopted the rule of paying his officers in money ; but this healthy rule was not followed by weaker sovereigns, and Jaigirdars multiplied all over India. Within their own estates the Jaigirdars and Zemindars were practically supreme in matters of criminal and civil administration and the preservation of order. And not unoften Jaigirdars and Zemindars fought with each other, like the barons and lords in Europe in the Middle Ages.

Trade and Taxes.—The internal trade of the country was much hampered by vexatious tolls and taxes. Akbar was opposed to these exactions and swept away most of them. And we are informed by the Mahomedan historian Khafi Khan, that Aurangzeb also abolished some eighty of them on one occasion of scarcity. But imperial mandates could not always be enforced within the domains of Jaigirdars and Zemindars ; and the exactions of the men in power no doubt harassed trade and industry in India, as elsewhere in the world in this age. In spite of such impediments, however, manufacture and trade flourished in India ; and up to the close of the Musalman rule in India, and indeed up to the commencement of the nineteenth century, Indian manufactures filled the markets of Europe, and the products of the Indian loom were valued all over the civilised world.

Religious Movements.—The religious teachings of Ramanuja and Ramananda, of Kabir and Chaitanya, of Nanak and Dadu were not lost in India. The vast mythology and polytheistic faith of the people, and their numberless temples, rites, and pilgrimages, did not stifle in the heart of the Hindu population the ennobling idea of One God. The rivalries between the sects of Siva and the sects of Vishnu were, like many of the disputes in

mediæval Europe, essentially disputes for a name; and while the upper classes in India generally worshipped the Deity under the name of Siva or Sakti, the humbler classes turned to Vishnu or Krishna as the One God of the universe, manifesting himself in various forms, and receiving worship under various names. As in ancient India, so in modern India, the actual practice of a polytheistic worship existed side by side with a never-absent conception of the One God of the universe. And so deeply was this conviction felt by the religious reformers of India, that they did not hesitate to identify that God of the Hindus with the God of the Mahomedans—of all humanity.

Akbar's Divine Faith.—Akbar's enlightened and sympathetic soul caught the spirit of these teachings; and devout Musalmans censure him for adopting and proclaiming a faith which was an eclectic form of pure Theism. His "Divine Faith" was based on natural theology, and comprised the best practices of all creeds. He worshipped the sun as representing the soul of the universe, and was himself the head of his new church. An eclectic faith like this does not, however, convince and persuade the people, and the "Divine Faith" of Abkar died with him.

Religious Literature in Bengal.—Side by side with such religious movements, the epoch-making rule of Akbar promoted intellectual movements in every province of India. In Bengal the religious reform of Chaitanya led to the production of a vast amount of Vaishnava literature. The six great Vaishnava Acharyas have left voluminous works, mostly in Sanscrit, and therefore of inferior merit. But the accounts of the life and deeds of the reformer, recorded in the vernacular by his loving and faithful disciples, are still read with veneration, and are among the classical works of Bengali literature.

School of Logic in Bengal.—Along with this religious movement, progress was made in philosophy and in law. Raghunath's name stands alone in Bengal as the founder of a school of logic. It has maintained its repu-

tation in India through three centuries, and flourishes to the present day. Raghunath learnt his lessons from the last of a long line of teachers, who had preserved and handed down this branch of ancient learning for two thousand years from father to son and from teacher to pupil, as learning is preserved and handed down in India alone. It is said that Raghunath defeated his teacher in controversy, and came and founded his own school in Nadiya. Logic is still taught in the old traditional way in this humble village, nestled under shady trees on a branch of the Ganges, and students still come from distant parts of India to live with their teachers in their humble huts, to serve them as their menials, and to acquire from them year by year the ancient heritage of the Hindus. It is an interesting relic of the past which has survived dynasties and empires.

Institutes of Law in Bengal.—While Chaitanya preached a religion of love to the people, and Raghunath taught ancient philosophy to the learned, Raghunandan compiled a body of Institutes for the rites and ceremonials of modern Hindus. The work is a monument of his industry and learning, but we miss in it the broad views and high sentiments of older codes, while it is marked by many of the hurtful restrictions of modern times.

Poetry in Bengal.—Early in the seventeenth century Mukunda Ram produced the first great and original works which are extant in Bengali poetry. His predecessors had left a profusion of melodious songs about Krishna, and had also enriched the language by versions of the *Maha-bharata* and the *Ramayana*. Mukunda Ram conceived the bolder idea of composing original narrative poetry, based on the religious traditions and legends of the country, and two of these poems have been left to us. One is of a hunter who cleared a forest and built a town by the favour of the goddess Sakti, Uma, or Chandi; and the other is of a merchant who sailed to Ceylon, and was shipwrecked and kept imprisoned, until his son went and rescued him by favour of the same goddess. There is little in Bengali literature more true

and natural, more genuine and life-like, than the poetry of Mukunda Ram.

Mukunda Ram had a successor in the eighteenth century, the celebrated Bharat Chandra. He describes the conquest of Bengal by Man Sinh the general of Akbar, and incidentally narrates many stories redounding to the glory of the goddess Sakti. He is a more skilful master of verse than Mukunda Ram, and his chiselled lines and polished phrases have greatly enriched the language. But in truth and pathos and real poetry he is very far inferior to his great master.

Literature of the North-West.—Sur Das of Mathura began a new epoch in the North-West by his well-known *Sur Sagar* in the sixteenth century ; and he was followed by Keshav Das, the author of *Bhakta-mala*. Bihari Lal of Ambar composed in the following century his famous *Satsai* which is still read and appreciated all over Northern India. But the greatest work in the Hindi language is the translation, or rather adaptation, of the *Ramayana* by Tulsi Das —a work which has fixed the language, and is known to high and low, rich and poor, among the people of Northern India.

Literature of the Mahrattas.—Sridhar's translation or adaptation of the great Sanscrit epics, the *Maha-bharata* and the *Ramayana*, into the Mahratta language in the sixteenth century opens a new epoch in the history of Mahratta literature. And in the following century flourished Tukaram, probably the greatest of the Mahratta poets. Tukaram was born in 1608, and is said to have been unhappy in his married life. He left home and took shelter in a temple of Vitopa, generally known as a form of Krishna. He spent days in meditation, and a new light dawned upon him. *Abhangas* or hymns flowed spontaneously from his lips, and thousands of all sects and castes came to listen to these religious songs, which are current in the Deccan to the present day. A successor of Tukaram in the following century was Mayur Panth, whose copious songs are still popular.

Tamil Literature.—The ancient and copious produc-

tions of the poets of Southern India in the literary Tamil language have been noticed in a previous chapter. A new school of Tamil poetry known as the *Sittar* school was developed in the seventeenth century. The poets accepted Siva as their deity, and adopted that name for the worship of One God, rejecting everything which was inconsistent with monotheism. The spirit and tenets of this pure monotheism will appear from the following metrical version of a Tamil poem from a literal prose rendering given by Bishop Caldwell—

> True God is one, the Veda stands alone,
> One Guru rules, one cleansing rite we own,
> One sky above, for mortal men one birth,
> One sinless way to walk upon this earth!
> They who in varying Vedas seek for light,
> In varying Sastras and in varying rite,
> And to their many gods their prayers tell,—
> Condemned they die, and seek the fires of hell!

European Travellers in India in the Seventeenth Century—Manrique.—Early in the seventeenth century Sebastian Manrique with three other friars of the Order of St. Augustin were sent to supply the missions in Bengal, and Manrique visited this and many other parts of India in the course of thirteen years. He speaks of Dacca as the great emporium of the commerce of Bengal, frequented by every nation, and containing a population of two hundred thousand. He describes the great fertility of the country, and speaks of the magnificent fabrics of cotton produced in Bengal and exported to all the countries of the East. He describes the Punjab from Lahore to Multan as a country abounding in wheat, rice, vegetables, and cotton, with numerous villages and excellent inns. Multan was a considerable city carrying on an extensive trade, and was the rendezvous of the caravans from Persia, Khorasan and other western countries. The country round Tatta was of exuberant abundance in wheat, rice, and cotton, which last employed two thousand looms. Silk and the manufacture of the Sindh-leather were also flourishing industries.

Hawkins and Roe.—Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe the English ambassador visited India early in the seventeenth century. They have left us an account of the grandeur of the royal camp and the caprices of the emperor Jahangir, but do not give us much valuable information about the condition of the people and their agriculture, trade, and industries. Another Englishman, William Bruton, came with five companions on a mission to the Nawab of Cuttack in 1632, and describes that town as a flourishing place, with much trade and many spacious streets. Among the places he visited was the weaving town of Harharpur with its busy population of 3000 weavers.

Graaf.—Nicholas Graaf, a physician who went to see the director of the Dutch factory at Hoogly in 1669, has left us an interesting account. Rajmahal, then the capital of Bengal, was beautified by temples and palaces; and the beauty of Monghyr with its towers and minarets and its white walls greatly struck the traveller. Patna was still more splendid than Monghyr and had an immense trade; a broad street lined with shops ran from one end of the town to the other.

Mandelso.—Mandelso, a German traveller, came to Western India in 1639. He found Broach to be a populous city filled with weavers, and manufacturing the finest cotton cloth in the province of Gujrat. Brodera was another large town of weavers and dyers, and Ahmadabad, the capital of Gujrat, was seven leagues in circuit. The streets were broad, the mosques and edifices were imposing, and the royal market-place was of vast extent and planted out with trees. Skilled weavers used Bengal and Chinese silk in their fabrics, and turned out gold and silver brocades; and the Banians made remittances to and from the remotest parts of Asia and some parts of Europe. Cambay was a larger city than Surat, and carried on an extensive trade. Agra was twice as large as Ispahan, and the streets were handsome and spacious, and were vaulted for over a quarter of a league for the convenience of merchants and citizens who exposed goods for sale under

the cover. The country round Lahore appeared to him, however, the richest in India in corn and fruits, and the eye stretched over a long range of beautiful gardens extending along the Ravi. Before setting sail for Europe, Mandelso visited Southern India, and his description of the Mahomedan capital Bijapur is eloquent. He calls it one of the greatest cities in Asia, more than five leagues in circumference; and the king is said to have had 200,000 men and a thousand pieces of cannon.

Tavernier and Bernier.—The French jeweller Tavernier speaks of the diamond mines of India and the peacock throne of Delhi. But the prince of European travellers in India in the seventeenth century was another Frenchman, Bernier. His work has become classical, and is known as well to Englishmen as to Frenchmen. He describes with a graphic pen both the grandeur and magnificence of the Moghal court, as well as its weakness, its rapacity, its oppression, and its corruption. And here and there he gives us glimpses into the condition of the agricultural and industrial population, which make us wish that he had written more of this subject and less of luxurious courts and corrupt officials. When Bernier writes of the oppression of the people of India by rapacious governors in the seventeenth century, his descriptions recall to mind the grosser oppression in Bernier's own country in the eighteenth century, depicted by Arthur Young. Europe has passed through more disastrous wars and a more galling oppression of the poor by the great than India, even down to the eighteenth century. Europe in the present day has been rescued from that oppression by the expansion of the representative form of government, the only system which can adequately safeguard the interests of the people against the privileges of the ruling classes.

We pass by Bernier's letter to the great Colbert concerning the political system of Hindustan, his letter to De la Mothe about Delhi and Agra, and his letters to others about the manners of the Hindus, and about the march of Aurang-

zeb to Kashmir. We turn to his account of Bengal, contained in one of his replies to M. Thevenot, and which gives us a pleasing picture of agricultural life and industry.

From the mouths of the Ganges up to Rajmahal the country on both sides of the river was intersected by innumerable channels lined with populous towns and villages, and with fields of rice, sugar, corn, vegetables, and mulberry shrubs for rearing silk-worms. Rice and butter and different kinds of vegetables formed the chief food of the common people, geese and ducks were cheap, goats and sheep were in abundance, and fish was found in profusion. Sugar was largely produced, and cotton and silks were produced in such quantities that Bernier calls Bengal the storehouse of those two articles of the world's merchandise. "I have been sometimes amazed at the vast quantity of cotton cloths of every sort, fine and coarse, white and coloured, which the Dutch alone export to different places, especially to Japan and Europe. The English, the Portuguese, and the native merchants deal also in these articles to a considerable extent. The same may be said of the silks and silk stuffs of all sorts." Bengal was also the principal emporium of saltpetre ; and lac, opium, wax, civet, and long pepper were the principal articles of trade. Bernier finishes his letter on Bengal by an account of a nine days' voyage from Pipli to Hugli, and "my eyes," he says, "seemed never sated with gazing on the delightful country through which we passed."

These brief summaries of the accounts of European travellers help us to form a tolerably correct idea of the material condition of the people of India under the Moghal rule. It is necessary to form such an idea in order to comprehend the true history of the country, and also to avoid the extreme views which have sometimes been put forward about the condition of the people of India under Mahomedan rule. On the other hand, there was the oppression of the poor by the strong ; and the rapacity, corruption, and the tyranny of men in power, which fill so large a part of the world's history in all countries and all past ages, were not checked in India

by any popular charters of rights or constitutional resistance. On the other hand, we have a glowing account of the industry of the agricultural population and the skill and ingenuity of the manufacturers, which triumphed over every obstacle, which covered India with large, prosperous, and flourishing towns, and which supplied the markets of half the civilised globe with her silk and cotton fabrics. The village community system protected the people from much harassment by officials; hereditary Zemindars and Jaigirdars stood between their subjects and the ruling power, and self-interest impelled them to curb their own exactions and not to ruin industries and agriculture. Wise and strong rulers like Akbar and Shah Jahan restrained the Subahdars and high officials, and wars were not as frequent or as disastrous in India as in Europe during the same age. And lastly, the rulers of the land made India their home; they levied no tribute and had no interests outside India.

European Settlements in India—The Portuguese.—Vasco da Gama discovered the passage to India round the Cape of Good Hope in 1498, and thenceforth the trade and the maritime supremacy of Venice declined, and that of Portugal rose. The daring genius of Albuquerque established the supremacy of the Portuguese through all the Indian Seas. He seized Goa in 1510, and sailing round Ceylon he captured Malacca, and opened a trade with Siam and the Spice Islands. Returning westward he took Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, the proudest seaport in Asia, and died in 1515. Not many years after, the Portuguese opened a trade with Bengal and established themselves in Hugli; and about the same time they obtained possession of Diu in the west from the governor of Gujrat. The eastern empire of Portugal was in the height of its power during the sixteenth century. From the Cape of Good Hope to the frontiers of China, an extent of 12,000 miles of sea-coast, all the most important trade marts were in the possession of the Portuguese. Mozambique in Africa, Muscat in Arabia, Ormuz in Persia, Diu, Goa, Cochin, and other places in Western India, Madras, Masalipatam, and

Bengal Settlements in the Eastern Coast, Malacca, and the Spice Islands in the Eastern Archipelago, all belonged to them. But as the Dutch rose in power in the seventeenth century the power and possessions of Portugal declined.

The Dutch.—After a prolonged war of independence Holland shook off the yoke of Spain in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and in 1602 the Dutch East India Company was formed. In 1619 the Dutch founded Batavia in Java, and compelled the English after the massacre of Amboyna in 1623 to leave the Eastern Archipelago. Not many years after they occupied Formosa, and conquered Malacca from the Portuguese; and in 1651 they founded a colony at the Cape of Good Hope. In the next year they established a factory on the Madras coast of India, and in 1658 they captured the last stronghold of the Portuguese in Ceylon. By 1670 they had expelled the Portuguese from the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, and during the close of the seventeenth century the Dutch were the greatest European power in Asia.

The French and the English.—In the eighteenth century the power and influence of Holland declined, and the French and the English struggled for mastery in the East. The French East India Company was formed in 1604, and French factories were established in Surat in 1664, in Pondicherry in 1673, and in Chandranagar in 1688. The English East India Company was formed in 1600, and they bought a site in Madras in 1639, obtained the island of Bombay from Portugal in 1661, and removed from Hugli in 1686 to Calcutta, where they purchased three villages in 1700. The history of the struggle which began between England and France within half a century from this date for mastery in India is a portion of the history of British India.

CHAPTER XII

Age of Mahratta Ascendency, 1718 TO 1818

The Last Moghal Emperors.—The history of the half century immediately after the death of Aurangzeb is a history of the rapid decline and extinction of the power of the house of Babar, known as the Moghal dynasty. Six feeble emperors filled the throne of Delhi between 1707 and 1759, until in the latter year the last was murdered. His son Shah Alam wandered about in Bengal and elsewhere, received a pension from the English, but was never virtually an emperor. Moghal supremacy terminated with the death of Aurangzeb (or Alamgir I.) in 1707, and the very semblance of the Moghal rule disappeared with the murder of Alamgir II. in 1759.

The Nizams of the Deccan.—The decline of the central power led to the rise of different political forces in different parts of India. Asaf Jah, the minister of one of the weak successors of Aurangzeb, was disgusted with the state of affairs in Delhi, and withdrew to the Deccan in 1723. He there founded the house of the Nizams which continues to rule the Deccan to the present day, and the Nizam of Haidarabad is now the greatest Mahomedan potentate in India under the Imperial power of England.

The Nawabs of Oudh.—About the same time another great Mahomedan house was founded in Northern India out of the ruins of the Moghal empire. Sadat Khan, originally a merchant of Khorasan, rose to a military command and gradually established his power in Oudh. His successors continued to rule as Nawabs of Oudh for over a hundred years until the British annexation of Oudh in 1856.

The Kingdom of Mysore.—In the extreme south of India, Hindu chiefs had always retained their independence,

and Mysore was ruled by a Hindu Rajah about the middle of the eighteenth century. Haidar Naek, a Mahomedan commander under the Hindu king, gradually usurped all power and became a formidable rival of the English in Southern India from 1767. The power of his house, however, fell with his son, Tipu Sultan, in 1799, and the kingdom of Mysore was restored by the victorious English to the old Hindu line, which continues to rule it to the present day. Another Hindu house continues to rule in Travancore.

The Rajputs.—The Rajputs, proud of their unconquered independence, soon threw off the semblance of Moghal supremacy after the death of Aurangzeb. Later on, in the eighteenth century and early in the nineteenth century, they were much harassed by the Mahrattas. But when the British became masters of Northern India they helped this ancient and brave nation to preserve their virtual independence within their respective states. The houses of Udaipur, Jodhpur, and Jaipur are the foremost among the Rajput ruling houses of the present day.

The Himalayan States.—Nepal and Bhutan had maintained their independence throughout the periods of Afghan and Moghal rule in Delhi, and retain their independence to the present day. Kashmir was conquered by Akbar the Great, and passed under the rule of the Sikhs early in this century. At the time of the British annexation of the Punjab in 1849 Kashmir was formed into an independent state, and continues to be ruled by a Hindu ruler to this day.

The Mahrattas.—Amidst this general disintegration of the Moghal empire and the rise of new political powers in all parts of India, the leading part was taken by the Mahrattas; and the leading story of the eighteenth century in India is the story of Mahratta supremacy. "The British won India, not from the Mughals, but from the Hindus. Before we appeared as conquerors, the Mughal empire had broken up. Our conclusive wars were neither with the Delhi king nor with the

revolted governors, but with two Hindu confederacies, the Mahrattas and the Sikhs."[1]

The Peshwas.—The successors of Sivaji did not inherit his genius, and rapidly declined in power, and the story of the rise and expansion of the Mahratta power from the beginning of the eighteenth century centres round the line of Brahman ministers, called Peshwas. In 1718, Balaji the first Peshwa marched an army to Delhi to support the faction of the Saiyad brothers then all-powerful in Northern India, and from that date until 1818, when Baji Rao the last Peshwa was deposed by the British, the history of the Peshwas is the leading story of India.

Balaji, TO 1720.—Balaji's march to Delhi was fruitful of results, and he obtained three separate grants from Delhi. The first grant was for the *chauth* or one-fourth share of the whole revenue of the Deccan and Southern India, including Haidarabad, Bijapur, the Karnatic, Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Mysore. The second grant was for the *sardeshmukhi*, or a rate of ten per cent. over and above the fourth share of revenues in the same provinces. And the third grant was the *swa-raj*, or the entire sovereignty over Puna and fifteen other districts, which were immediately under the Mahratta rule. These three grants confirmed the sovereign rights of the Mahrattas over their own country, and their right to levy contributions from all other states south of the Narbadda.

Baji Rao, 1720 TO 1740.—Balaji died in 1720, and was succeeded by his son Baji Rao who held the post of Peshwa for twenty years. More ambitious than his father he turned his eyes to Northern India, and referring to the weakness of the Moghal power in Delhi, said, "Let us strike the withered trunk, and the branches will fall of themselves." He established his right to levy the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from Gujrat, conquered Malwa and Bundelkhand, and appeared before Delhi in 1737. Returning from the north he captured Bassein from the Portuguese in 1739, and died in the following year.

[1] Sir W. Hunter's *Indian Empire* (1893), p. 375.

Five Mahratta Powers.—It should be noted that the ancestors of the three great Mahratta houses which still rule in India were humble officers under Baji Rao. Malhar Rao Holkar was commander of a party of horse, and was the ancestor of the present ruling house of Indore. Ranaji Sindia served Baji Rao in a still humbler capacity, and was the ancestor of the present ruling house of Gwalior. Pilaji Gaekwar also led troops under Baji Rao, and the ruling house of Baroda traces its descent from him. These three Mahratta states,—Baroda, Gwalior, and Indore,—still exist. Another Mahratta state which grew up in the eighteenth century, viz. that of the Bhonslas of Nagpur, is now extinct, the territory being annexed by the British in 1853. It is important to bear in mind the names of these four Mahratta states of the eighteenth century, as distinguished from the state of the Peshwa himself round about Poona. Indor, Gwalior, Baroda, Nagpur, and Poona were the capitals of the five Mahratta powers, and the first three continue to this day to be the seats of ruling houses.

Invasion of India by Nadir Shah IN 1739.—It was during the closing years of Baji Rao's life that Delhi was sacked by the terrible invader Nadir Shah. He was originally a freebooter, and lived to be the deliverer of his country, Persia, from the power of Abdalis and Ghiljis, Russians and Turks. He was crowned king of Persia in 1736; two years after he conquered Kandahar and Kabul; and in 1739 he advanced into India. He defeated Asaf Jah and Sadat Khan, the strongest supporters of the tottering house of Delhi; he took Delhi and massacred and robbed the people. Laden with a booty of several millions sterling and several millions in gold, silver, and jewellery, the grim spoiler at last left India.

Balaji Baji Rao, 1740 TO 1761.—Baji Rao's son, Balaji Baji Rao, succeeded as Peshwa in 1740. The Mahrattas reached the zenith of their power during the administration of Balaji Baji Rao. Raghuji Bhonsla of Nagpur swept down upon Bengal, and after repeated expeditions

compelled the Nawab in 1751 to cede Orissa to the Mahrattas, and to make a formal grant of the *chauth* or "quarter revenue" of Bengal and Behar. In Northern India too the Mahrattas made frequent expeditions, until the Peshwa obtained a promise of the *chauth* of the whole of the imperial revenues. In their own territories round Poona, Nagpur, and elsewhere, the Mahrattas proved able administrators, and the people enjoyed prosperity and peace. But in other parts of India which they harried with their light horse, their expeditions caused suffering and distress, and their name was held in terror by peaceful populations engaged in trade, industries, and agriculture.

The period of the third Peshwa's administration marks the turning-point in the history of modern India. In the north, the last *de facto* emperor of Delhi was murdered in 1759, and all traces of the Moghal rule disappeared. In the south, the long struggle between the English and the French terminated in 1761 in the establishment of British power in the Karnatic. In the east, the daring genius of Clive overturned the power of the last *de facto* Nawab in 1757, and established British power on a firm foundation. A wise observer could almost have forecast the future at this date, and foreseen the coming struggle between the British and the Mahrattas for the supreme power in India.

Ahmad Shah—Battle of Panipat, 1761.—The Mahratta power received a severe check in the north in 1761. Ghazi-ud-din, a son of Asaf Jah of the Deccan, tried to defend Northern India against Ahmad Shah of Kabul, who had conquered the Punjab. Ghazi-ud-din called in the Mahrattas to his aid, and the Mahrattas came with 70,000 paid horse, besides a vast body of followers. Ahmad Shah advanced with a strong army of 49,000 Afghans and 51,000 Indians. A pitched battle, known as the third battle of Panipat, was fought in that historic field, and the Mahrattas were defeated with great slaughter. Their commander was slain, Mahdaji Sindia (son of Ranaji) was lamed for life, and Malhar Rao Holkar escaped by flight. The Peshwa's power

in Northern India terminated at this date, but the power of the Mahrattas was not crushed; on the contrary, Sindia and Holkar increased their resources and territory in the general confusion which ensued.

Madhu Rao and Narayan Rao, 1761 TO 1772.—Balaji Baji Rao never recovered from the shock, and died in Poona shortly after the battle; and his son Madhu Rao became the Peshwa. The new Peshwa watched with concern the rising power of Haidar Ali in Mysore, and in 1764 he entered the Karnatic with 60,000 troops. He defeated Haidar Ali and secured a short peace; but Haidar Ali invaded Mahratta possessions in 1770, and a fresh war broke out. With all his skill, ability, and resources, Haidar Ali found himself incapable of contending against the Mahrattas; and after another severe defeat concluded a humiliating peace, restoring all Mahratta possessions, and consenting to pay an annual tribute. The English had formed an offensive and defensive alliance with Haidar Ali, but did not help him in this war, and Haidar never forgave them for the omission.

In Northern India, the power of the Peshwa was extinguished by the battle of Panipat in 1761, but not the power of the Mahratta nation. Mahdaji Sindia, who had been worsted and lamed in that disastrous battle, soon recovered his influence. He drew the titular emperor from Allahabad and placed him on the throne of Delhi, and remained virtually the master of the surrounding country.

Malhar Rao Holkar, who had saved himself by flight in the battle of Panipat, died in 1767. His son's widow, Ahalya Bai, carried on the administration of the country with an ability, success, and benevolence towards her subjects which have made her name a household word among all Hindus to the present day. She transformed Indore into a large and wealthy capital, she brought peace and prosperity to her state, and she stands for all time as a prominent example of the genius, the wisdom, and the administrative ability of women in India.

In the Deccan too, the Peshwa Madhu Rao, under the inspiration of the venerable Rama Sastri, greatly improved the

civil administration of the country. Rama Sastri was a friend to the well-disposed and a terror to the oppressor; his habits were simple, his integrity incorruptible, and the decisions of his Panchyets are considered precedents in India. The excellent civil administration of the Mahrattas in their own dominions[1] contrasts favourably with the disorder in other parts of India.

Raghunath Rao and Madhu Rao II., 1772 TO 1795.—Madhu Rao I. was succeeded by Narayan Rao, who was assassinated after a short reign. Raghunath Rao, a brother of the third Peshwa, then assumed the rank; but the widow of Narayan Rao gave birth to a posthumous child, known as Madhu Rao II., and a strong party supported his claim to his father's rank. The disputes between the party of Madhu Rao II. and of Raghunath Rao led to fruitful results. Raghunath in his despair turned to the English for help, and the English, who had become supreme in Bengal and Madras, were not loth to increase their power and possessions on the Bombay side by interfering in the dissensions of the Mahrattas. Raghunath Rao signed the treaty of Surat in 1775, agreeing to cede Salsette and Bassein to the English in consideration of being restored to Poona as Peshwa.

[1] The revenue collection was in the hands of officers called Mamlatdars, who were encouraged to reside in their own districts, and superintended the administration of criminal and civil justice. Hereditary chiefs, called Deshmukhs and Deshpandays, were left in the enjoyment of their rights and revenues. Except in the capital town, the people looked after their own police arrangements in all villages, and life and property were generally secure. The criminal laws were mild, but torture to extort confession was frequent, and mutilation was one of the punishments for certain offences. In civil cases the Panchyets were the ordinary tribunals. The revenue of the whole Mahratta empire at the time of Madhu Rao's death was vaguely put down at a hundred million rupees; but the actual revenue, including the Jaigirs of Holkar and Sindia, the Bhonsla of Berar, and the Gaekwar of Gujrat, and also including tributes and contribut.ons, came to about seventy-two million rupees. Of this sum the revenue under the direct control of the Peshwa was about twenty-eight millions. The ordinary army of the Peshwa, without including those of Sindia and Holkar, the Gaekwar and the Bhonsla, was 50,000 good horse. The total Mahratta army including those of the different states exceeded 100,000.—(See Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, Chapter xxiii.)

The result was what is known as the *First Mahratta War* in British Indian history. It is not within the scope of this work to go into the events of that war ; it is enough to state that the genius of Nana Furnavez, the Mahratta minister, saved the interests of Madhu Rao II., and the treaty of Surat failed in its main object. Raghunath Rao was set aside as a pensioner ; but Salsette and Elephanta and two other islands were retained by the English by the treaty of Salbai concluded in 1782.

In the meantime the English Governor-General, Warren Hastings, had got involved in a war with the great Haidar Ali of Mysore and his son Tipu Sultan, which was concluded by a treaty in 1784. Tipu Sultan, however, was not sufficiently humbled. A second war waged against him by Lord Cornwallis ended in 1792 in the loss of half his dominions ; and a third war carried on by Lord Wellesley ended in the death of Tipu in 1799, and the restoration of Mysore to the old Hindu house. These wars, however, belong to the history of the rise of British power in India, and do not fall within the scope of the present work.

In the north the power of Mahdaji Sindia was supreme. He had a splendid body of infantry disciplined by a French officer, De Boigne ; and the titular emperor conferred on him the command of his army, and entrusted the provinces of Delhi and Agra to his management in 1784. Golam Kadir, a notorious and cruel adventurer, seized Delhi, and during his temporary occupation of that city put out the eyes of the titular old emperor Shah Alam, and dishonoured and degraded his family. But Golam Kadir was pursued and killed, Mahdaji regained his ascendency, and seated poor Shah Alam again on the throne of his ancestors in 1789. The great Mahdaji Sindia died in 1794, master of Northern India with the provinces of Delhi and Agra under his administration, and with a disciplined force of over 25,000 under De Boigne, invincible in Northern India. He was succeeded by his adopted son Daulat Rao Sindia.

At Indore the gifted Ahalya Bai closed her brilliant

administration and died in 1795. Her commander-in-chief Tukaji Holkar imitated the policy of Sindia, and had a body of troops disciplined by a French officer, Dudrenec.

At Nagpur, Raghuji Bhonsla succeeded his father in 1788, and ruled over a large territory extending to Orissa on the eastern coast. At Baroda, Govind Rao succeeded as Gaekwar in 1793 after the death of his younger brother who had usurped the rank.

Baji Rao II., last of the Peshwas, 1795 TO 1818. —The young Peshwa Madhu Rao II. was kept under restraint by his minister Nana Furnavez, and committed suicide, and was succeeded by Baji Rao II. son of Raghunath Rao. There were frequent dissensions and wars among the different powers, and Baji Rao, like his father, sought the help of the English. This gave an opening to the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, of which he was eager to avail himself; and the treaty of Bassein was signed on the last day of 1802, by which Baji Rao consented to keep a British "subsidiary" force in his territory, and ceded a territory for the maintenance of that force. The other Mahratta powers were taken aback by this introduction of the British power and influence in Mahratta territory, and the result was what is known as the *Second Mahratta War* in British Indian history. Into the events of this memorable war it is not our purpose to enter. Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, broke the Mahratta power in the Deccan; and General Lake was equally successful in Northern India, and triumphantly entered Delhi in 1803. From this date the British became the paramount power in Northern India, and the titular emperor of Delhi exchanged the Mahrattas for the English as his masters and protectors. Orissa was wrested from the Nagpur state by the British, and Berar was similarly taken away from that state and ceded to the Nizam of Haidarabad. Sindia and Holkar, the Bhonsla and the Gaekwar, retained their possessions in Malwa, Nagpur, and Gujrat; and the Peshwa still ruled at Poona with a British "subsidiary" force near his capital.

Another war, known as the *Third Mahratta War*, which took place in 1817–18, swept away the Peshwa's rule. Baji Rao chafed under the conditions to which he had himself consented by the treaty of Bassein, and at last rose against the English, and the forces of Nagpur and Indore co-operated. The war was soon over; the title of Peshwa was extinguished by the Governor-General, Lord Hastings; Baji Rao retired as a British pensioner; and his territory was taken over by the British, and now forms the Bombay Presidency.

Thirty-five years later, Lord Dalhousie annexed the territory of Nagpur on the death of the last Bhonsla without a natural heir; and he also took back Berar from the Nizam for the expenses of the British "subsidiary" force which the Nizam had undertaken to maintain. Sindia, Holkar, and the Gaekwar, holding their possessions in Malwa and Gujrat, are now the only Mahratta powers out of the great confederacy which in the eighteenth century dominated India from the Jumna to the Krishna river.

The Sikhs of the Punjab, 1763 TO 1803.—When the supremacy of the Mahrattas was swept away in Hindustan in 1803, and in the Deccan in 1818, the Sikhs remained the only great rivals of the British in India. Guru Govind, who had formed the sect into a strong military confederacy, died in the year after Aurangzeb's death. During the next half century the Sikhs repeatedly rose against Moghal, Mahratta, and Afghan, ravaged the country of their oppressors, and were trained into a hardy military life amidst troubles, persecutions, and disasters. Ahmad Shah, who defeated the Mahrattas at Panipat in 1761, defeated the Sikhs in a great battle in the following year; but the Sikhs were stirred up and not cast down by this great disaster. In 1763 they defeated Ahmad Shah's governor in the plains of Sarhind, and by the following year they had made themselves masters of the whole country from the Jhelum to the Jumna. Each chief and leader carved out a territory and a group of villages for himself, and tradition still describes how the victors of 1763 rode day and night, and how each warrior

"would throw his belt and scabbard, his articles of dress and accoutrement, until he was almost naked, into successive villages to mark them as his."[1]

For forty years after the battle, this religious confederacy of feudal warriors remained the paramount power in the Punjab, as Mahdaji Sindia and his successor Daulat Rao Sindia were paramount in Hindustan. Daulat Rao had appointed his French officer, Perron, as his deputy for the administration of Northern India in 1797, and in 1799 Ranjit Sinh had made his mark among the Sikhs, and had obtained the formal cession of Lahore from the king of Kabul. Perron and Ranjit Sinh then came to an agreement for the partition of the country south of Lahore, but shortly after this, the power of Sindia in Northern India was annihilated by the English in 1803.

Ranjit Sinh, 1803 TO 1839.—The power which had been exercised for forty years by the Sikh confederacy of chiefs and warriors was now centred in the hands of one great ruler, Ranjit Sinh. In 1806 Ranjit Sinh entered into a treaty of friendship with the English, now masters of Northern India. A more important treaty was negotiated shortly after by the British representative Mr. Metcalfe, backed by a British force, and was signed in 1809. "Perpetual friendship," it declares, "shall subsist between the British Government and the state of Lahore." And it provided that the British Government would have no concern with the territories of Ranjit Sinh north of the Sutlej, and that Ranjit Sinh would maintain his possessions south of that river, but would not commit farther encroachments.

Between 1818 and 1820 Ranjit Sinh wrested from the Mahomedans the provinces of Kashmir, Multan, and Peshawar, and thus became the master of the whole of the Punjab as far as the mountains to the north and west. French generals, Ventura and Allard, were appointed to discipline his troops, and they were succeeded by Court and Avitable. His governor, Golab Sinh, conquered Ladak in 1835,

[1] Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, Chapter iv.

and the great "Lion of the Punjab" died in 1839 at the age of fifty-nine.

Extinction of Sikh Power, 1839 TO 1849.—The political confederacy of the Sikhs had been modified by the genius of Ranjit Sinh into a strong personal government, and the hordes of warlike horsemen who previously formed the military power of the Sikhs had been changed by him into a disciplined army of fifty thousand soldiers and fifty thousand well-armed yeomanry and militia. When Ranjit Sinh's restraining hand was withdrawn, the army became uncontrollable in its power, and political distractions followed. The result was two wars with the British power between 1845 and 1849, in which the Sikhs were crushed, and the Punjab was annexed to the British territory by Lord Dalhousie.

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THE END

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